00111135

THE

RELIGION OF ISRAEL.

By DR. A. KUENEN.

VOL. I.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018

THE

RELIGION OF ISRAEL

TO

THE FALL OF THE JEWISH STATE.

BY

DR. A. KUENEN,

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF LEYDEN.

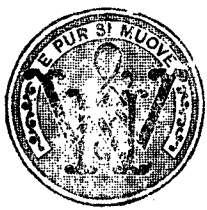
111135

Translated from the Dutch

BY

ALFRED HEATH MAY.

VOL. I.



WILLIAMS AND NORGATE,

14, HENRIETTA STREET, COVENT GARDEN, LONDON;

AND 20, SOUTH FREDERICK STREET, EDINBURGH.

1882.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY C. GREEN AND SON,
178, STRAND.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

In his endeavour to make an accurate translation of Dr Kuenen's work, the translator has had the assistance of the author, who has been kind enough to look through the proofs, and also the valuable aid of Dr. John Muir, of Edinburgh, who has read the whole of the manuscript and has suggested many improvements.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

TO THE ENGLISH EDITION.

My work upon *The Religion of Israel* is offered to the English public in the same form in which it originally saw the light in 1869-70. I have had to make no alterations of any importance. Of course, I should now have put forward this or that detail somewhat otherwise than five years ago, but this could not be done in looking through the proofs. I have also been obliged to leave untouched the literature of recent years, for I could not possibly do it justice. Thus, for example, the divergent opinion of my esteemed friend Bishop Colenso* upon a few points deserves much more than a passing remark; the mistaken conception of sound criticism formed by Dr. H. Graetz† cannot be refuted in a couple of lines. Let the reader, therefore, take my book as I wrote it, and let him judge it by its own date. The following references may serve to supplement those which occur in the work itself:—

Pp. 33, 34.—The dates which are given here and elsewhere are borrowed from the Old Testament itself, but only partially

* *The Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua critically examined*, Part VI. (London, 1871); *Lectures on the Pentateuch and the Moabite Stone* (London, 1873).

† *Gesch. der Juden von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart*, Band I. Lief. 1—9 (Leipzig, 1873, 1874).

agree with the Assyrian chronology. Comp., among others E. Schrader, *die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* (Giessen, 1872).

P. 97.—With regard to the text of 1 Sam. xiv. 18 and other corrupt passages in the books of Samuel, comp. J. Wellhausen, *der Text der Bücher Samuelis untersucht* (Goettingen, 1872).

Pp. 108—115.—The ideas put forward here are developed more fully in *Theol. Tijdschrift*, Vol. V. 255—312 (1871).

Pp. 129 seq.—I hope to give elsewhere the reasons why Bishop Colenso's opinion as to the deuteronomic origin of Exod. xx. 1—17 seems to me to be inadmissible.

Pp. 166, 171.—Chabas has stated his views concerning the Hyksôs more fully not only in his treatise, *Les Pasteurs en Egypte* (Amsterdam, 1868), but also in his *Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de la 19ème Dynastie* (Paris, 1872), pp. 99 sqq., 142 sq., 153 sqq., 163 sq. Comp. Tiele, in the *Theol. Tijdschrift*, Vol. VII. 618—634 (1873), upon this subject, and upon the investigations of Eisenlohr (*Der Papyrus Harris* and *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, I. 355—384).

Pp. 224, 228.—That which is said here can now be illustrated by means of the Moabite stone or the pillar of Mesa. Prof. L. Diestel has given an excellent review of the very extensive literature upon this subject in the *Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie*, Band xvi. 615—651.

Pp. 232, 233.—2 Sam. xi. 11 ought also to have been quoted.

Pp. 249, 254.—To the writings mentioned here can now be added C. P. Tiele, *vergelijkende geschiedenis van de Egyptische en Mesopotamische Godsdiensten* (Amsterdam, 1872). The religion of Babylon and Assur is treated on pp. 282—413.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Religion of Israel: can it be necessary to bespeak the reader's interest in a book on this subject?

The land in which the Israelites lived is small in extent. Its area is about equal to that of Belgium. It was not thickly populated, and it also served as a dwelling-place for other people besides the tribes of Israel, for the Phœnicians and Philistines. Compared with the nations with which they came in contact one after another, with the Egyptians, the Assyrians, the Babylonians and the Persians, the Israelites were a small, nay, an insignificant people. On political ground they have never played an important part. In their prosperity they swayed the sceptre over their immediate neighbours; but they themselves were an easy prey to the great monarchies of Asia. Time after time they were obliged, however unwillingly, to bear the yoke of foreign conquerors, and they had already been transported once from their native soil, when they at length lost their existence as a nation, after a desperate struggle with the legions of Rome.

But it is just in this their weakness that the Israelites are the most remarkable people of antiquity. In the very individuality which they have been able to retain to the present day, lies an incontestable proof of their inner vitality. While her more powerful oppressors have long since disappeared from the stage of history, Israel, driven from her native country, scattered hither and thither, hunted and crushed, still remains, and is still true to her past. She still "dwells"—according to Balaam's prophecy—

"alone,* and is not reckoned among the nations." The cause of this phenomenon is not far to seek: the explanation of the prolonged existence of the Israelites lies in their attachment to their religion. This attachment has but little significance as evidence of the truth of their belief: error too has its true friends and its martyrs. But a form of religion which could endure such changes of times and such manifold attacks, has undoubtedly the strongest claim upon our interest.

That interest rises when we observe the influence which Israel has exercised in the domain of religion. Christianity and Islamism have emanated from Israel. The millions throughout the world who profess these two wide-spread religions, pray to the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. To them Israel's history is sacred. It is true, they believe that they occupy a higher position than the one maintained by the offspring of Jacob, but they do not wish on that account to be considered to have disowned their origin. In spite of many important differences, their spiritual relationship to Israel is still manifest. Far from denying this, Israel herself glories in the fact that the followers of Jesus and of Mahomed have derived that which is good and true in their worship from the "Old Covenant," from the "people of the Book." Even could we for a moment forget that we ourselves, as Christians, are so greatly indebted to Israel, we should yet desire to become acquainted with the origin and growth of a religion which has achieved so many conquests. It appears here, if anywhere, how unreasonable it would be to "despise the day of small things;"† for here we are reminded of "the grain of mustard seed, which indeed is the least of all seeds, but when it is grown it is the greatest among herbs, and becometh a tree, so that the birds of the air come and lodge in the branches thereof."‡

The year 70 of the Christian era is the limit of our examination of the religion of Israel. Jerusalem was then reduced by Titus, the temple was burnt and the Jewish state came to an end. But the Jewish religion still remained in existence. Eve-

* Num. xxiii. 9. † Zech. iv. 10. ‡ Matt. xiii. 31, 32.

after Christianity was born and had detached itself from the Synagogue, a great part of the Jewish people remained true to the belief of their fathers, and the Jewish religion underwent many important alterations. Its later history, which goes on to the present day, retains its unmistakable interest.* But from the period which we have fixed as our limit, the Jewish is no longer one of "the principal religions." In as far as it has been independent and purely Jewish, the quiet labour expended by the learned among the Jews on the development and completion of their belief has exercised little or no influence beyond the narrow circle of the community itself. In history they undoubtedly fill no unimportant part. They have always shown a great capacity for appropriating the civilization of the people in whose midst they have lived, and for modifying their own religious conceptions in harmony with it. Scarcely had they been allowed a certain amount of freedom, before they made use of it and took an active part in intellectual movements. Among other things, they have performed very important service as mediators between Mussulmans and Christians. But general progress no longer proceeds from them, however much it may sometimes be promoted by them. The history of Judaism is a reflection of that of Islam and of Christianity, and not the converse. The modifications which it undergoes, whatever weight they may have for those directly concerned, can lay no claim to general interest. Therefore we believe that it will be sufficient if we sketch them rapidly in a last chapter, an appendix as it were, of this work. For a deliberate and more exhaustive treatment, moreover, it would be necessary to call in the aid of other powers than those at the disposal of the author of this history.

In spite of the restriction which we have attempted to justify, the task which lies before us is still great in extent and in the highest degree difficult. Although we need not follow the Israelitish records in beginning at the creation of the world, our historical review extends over several centuries. If the sources

of our information flow richly enough here and there, in other places they are scanty or very turbid. The greatest difficulty, however, lies where one would least think of seeking it, in the knowledge of his subject which the author must suppose his readers to possess. From our youth upwards, we have all had ready the answer to the question, how Israel's religion originated and was developed. If now we could adopt that answer, or at least proceed to build upon it, our task would be simple enough. But this is not the case. In many respects our conception of the religious history of Israel will differ from current ideas, and will even be diametrically opposed to them. If, from the nature of the case, the accuracy of that conception cannot in the strictest sense of the word be demonstrated in a popular work like this, how shall the author avoid the appearance of arbitrariness?—how shall he even escape the accusation that he has no respect for sacred things?

Peculiar obligations devolve upon the author in consequence of his being placed thus with regard to his readers. He must not allow himself the freedom which he might claim in handling another subject. If in that case he could let his work speak for itself, in the present he must render an account of his principles. The reader has a right to know who addresses him, and why this particular tone is used and no other. The author, on his side, must be careful to make himself known, and as far as possible to justify his deviations from current views.

We will therefore fix our attention in turn upon *our standpoint*, upon *the sources of our information*, and upon *the plan and division* of this history.

Pp. 278 sq.—According to Tiele, l. c. pp. 558 seq., Jahveh was originally the god of the Kenites. Comp. with this what I wrote on pp. 179—182, 358 seq., 403: thus his opinion is not absolutely opposed to mine.

Pp. 292, 299, 337 sqq.—The history of the Levites is treated at greater length in *Theol. Tijdschrift*, Vol. VI. 628—670 (1872).

Pp. 297, 302, 304 sq.—Comp. Wellhausen, l. c. pp. xii. xiii., with regard to the true reading of Judges ix. 28, as well as with regard to Jahveh and Baal.

P. 354 (comp. 365).—Concerning Elisha's exertions in the reigns of Jehu and his successors, comp. *Nieuw en Oud*, 1871, pp. 391—416.

Pp. 409—412.—E. Böhmer's critique, *das erste Buch der Thora*, pp. 236 sqq., which attributes Gen. xxxiv. 2b, 5, 7, 13b, 19, 23, 26b, 27, 31, to the reviser, is by all means worthy of further consideration. The main points in my view would be confirmed by this.

A. KUENEN.

CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

PAGE

INTRODUCTION . . . 1

CHAPTER I.

The Religious Condition of Israel in the Eighth Century before our Era 33

Notes on Chapter I. 85

CHAPTER II.

The Earlier Fortunes of the People of Israel 101

Notes on Chapter II. 159

CHAPTER III.

The Israelitish Prophets before and during the Eighth Century B.C. 188

Note on Chapter III. 213

CHAPTER IV.

The Course of Israel's Religious Development 218

Notes on Chapter IV. 249

CHAPTER V.

History of Israel's Religious Development before and during the Eighth Century B.C 268

Notes on Chapter V. 390

I. OUR STANDPOINT.

Our standpoint is sketched in a single stroke, as it were, by the manner in which this work sees the light. It does not stand entirely alone, but is one of a number of monographs on "the principal religions." For us the Israelitish is one of those religions, nothing less, but also nothing more.

In that general title, "the principal religions," it is by no means implied that there exists no difference in value between the forms of religion thus indicated. Nothing hinders us from estimating one a good deal higher than another. Just as they differ from each other in origin, in development, in significance for mankind, so they differ in value. According to the point of view from which they are examined, a different opinion of them will be formed, but it lies in the nature of the case that the appreciation of all "principal religions" cannot be one and the same.

On the other hand, however, this common appellation points to a certain mutual conformity. To be able to unite a number of phenomena in one group, we must regard them as homogeneous. In a word, the idea of including the Israelitish and the Christian among "the principal religions" deserves approbation and applause only if there exist no specific difference between these two and all the other forms of religion. Unless it be from want of thought, this cannot be admitted by those who derive the Jewish and Christian religions from special divine revelation and all other forms from human invention. For this idea places so deep a gulf between those two and the rest of "the principal religions," that their union in one group can only lead to misunderstanding and confusion.

But surely it is a fact that the sacred records of the Israelites and the Christians attribute to each of these two religions a supernatural origin: may we simply overlook this fact? By no means. The rise of that belief, among Israelites and Christians, is one of the most important facts in their religious history, and must be not only acknowledged, but also, if possible, explained. But here it behoves us not to forget that this belief is by no means exclusively characteristic of Israelites and Christians. They hold it in common with the adherents of many, nay, of most other forms of religion. Zarathustra, Sâkya-Moonî and Mahomed, pass among their followers for envoys of the Godhead; and in the estimation of the Brahmin, the Vedas and the laws of Manou are holy, divine books. At the same time it does not follow from this that the description of those forms of religion must start from that belief. No one expects or requires this for Buddhism or Islam; with what right then can it be demanded with respect to Judaism or Christianity? If we look upon those other religions as so many manifestations of the religious spirit of mankind, are we not bound to examine the Israelitish and the Christian religions also from the same point of view?

This at least is the view taken by modern theological science. The latter places itself in the position, not of belief, which recognizes no truth beyond the circle in which it itself rules, but of impartial criticism, which, instead of applying the same standard to everything, acknowledges the claims of variety, and notices the good wherever and under whatever form it finds it. To be sure, there is a vast difference between this standpoint and that which we may call ecclesiastical, because it has prevailed for centuries in the Christian Church, and is still the most common in some ecclesiastical circles. It cannot be necessary to describe it at length; it is unfamiliar to none of us. We all know the doctrine that God chose out of all the nations of the earth one alone, the Israelites, to guard and propagate the knowledge of his being and his will, until the time when it pleased him to extend the circle of his worshippers, and to

include in it those nations and persons who showed themselves prepared to accept his last and highest revelation to Israel. According to this view, it is not exactly necessary to condemn heathen religions altogether; it is still possible to see in them something which is not error and darkness; but yet truth is attributed to the Israelitish and Christian religions in a sense entirely special and peculiar. Any comparison between the "people of God" and this or that heathen nation must result in favour of the former, but at the same time cannot in justice be allowed, because the two parties do not stand upon the same footing: no human effort, however deserving of respect, can compete with God's gifts.

No one can expect or require us to support in this place by a complete demonstration the right of the modern as opposed to the ecclesiastical view. This alone can be shown, that the former is not the result of arbitrariness, as its opponents assert, but is the natural fruit of progress in knowledge and development, of the entire intellectual work of Europe during the last century. It will surely need no apology, that in offering proof of this we overstep the bounds of theology as little as possible.

We find ourselves in a mountainous district. Yonder hill-top is the end of our journey. Before we have arrived there, we gaze around us and form a preliminary opinion of the comparative size and mutual relations of the objects which surround us. We go further and climb higher up. At length we have reached our destination. Now our horizon is limited no longer. How totally different the parts at once appear to us, now that we can review the whole! We smile at the remembrance of the conception which we but just now entertained. What then was hidden, now lies before us in its extent. What we then called large, now sinks away almost into nothingness. . . . . It is the same with man in his view of history and in his judgment of the ways of Providence. Centuries before the Christian era there existed among the Israelites a belief that the only True God "had known them only of all the families of the

earth."* How this belief arose will appear further on. Enough that there were those who entertained it—not, however, only because it was flattering to their national vanity, but also because at that time their acquaintance with other nations and their religions did not prevent them from so believing. In the course of centuries that belief underwent more than one change. It was at an early period coupled with the hope that the nations would attach themselves to Israel and share in her privileges. Thus extended and modified, it was adopted by the Christians: they could only acknowledge the altogether unique and divine origin of the religion of Israel if they were permitted to see in that religion the preparation for Christianity. Nothing was more natural. The idea that with respect to one small nation, not exceptionally excellent, God should have followed quite another line of action than with regard to all other nations on earth—this idea is unreasonable, unless that exception be taken as temporary, and be considered as but a portion of the great plan by which the whole world will one day share in the blessing which was at first granted to one tribe alone. Believing Israelites hold essentially the same opinion even at the present time: they consider that their monotheism is destined one day to become the religion of mankind, and by this destination they explain God's peculiar dealings with their fathers. But even after this modification, is the belief in Israel's selection still tenable in our days? That the first Christians—who knew but a small portion of the inhabited world, and could hope that within a comparatively short time the true religion would have reached that world's uttermost bounds—should have acquiesced in this view is most natural. But we? Is this belief in harmony with the experience which we have now accumulated for centuries together, and with our present knowledge of lands and nations? We do not hesitate to reply in the negative. Just as our ideas of God's relation to mankind underwent a complete evolution upon the discovery that our earth is not the centre

* Amos iii. 2.

of the universe, but one of the millions of globes which are suspended in immeasurable space, so our conception of God's designs with regard to the world had to be modified as our horizon became wider. We now perceive that the means of which God was formerly thought to have made use, are altogether disproportioned to the end which in reality was to be attained. So long as we yet knew but little of "the heathen" and formed but an indistinct idea of their number, their characteristics and their development, we could reasonably believe that God had "suffered them to walk in their own ways,"* in order, with a view to them and their future, to manifest himself first of all to one nation; now this idea seems to us a childish fancy. Israel is no more the pivot on which the development of the whole world turns, than the planet which we inhabit is the centre of the universe. In short, we have outgrown the belief of our ancestors. Our conception of God and of the extent of his activity, of the plan of the universe and its course, has gradually become far too wide and too grand for the ideas of Israel's prophets to appear any longer otherwise than misplaced in it. The conviction that the Israelitish or the Christian religion is destined one day to become the religion of all mankind can still be ours, but then it rests on foundations other than those upon which it was built formerly. In the shape in which we cherish it, it does not underrate the comparative value of other religions. If they are to be replaced by ours, it is because the latter is purer and more simple, and at the same time is capable at any time of assuming new forms in accordance with the wants of those who profess it. But also in the lower, which when the time comes yields to the higher form of religion, we revere and admire the never-resting and all-embracing activity of God's spirit in humanity. To confine that activity at first and for many centuries to a single people, afterwards and during a fresh series of centuries still to a comparatively small portion

* Acts xiv. 16.

of the human race—would be an absurdity from which any thoughtful man must shrink.

The belief in the selection of the people of Israel implies a persuasion that their religion possesses a superiority altogether peculiar, and as much excels all other forms of religion as God's work is more glorious than that of man. Here we again have an opinion which could formerly be held without difficulty. Other religions were entirely unknown or known only by hearsay; it was thought that enough had been done if a few absurdities had been pointed out, and in conformity with these all the rest had then been estimated, or rather condemned. With ourselves it is different. We gave just now a deduction or two to which a flying glance, as it were, at the heathen world seemed to entitle us. But it is more than such a glance which has been taken in our time. Our knowledge is not only more extensive, but it has also become deeper and more accurate. The old religions have been examined and traced out in detail. That which formerly was included in a general condemnation, is now revealed to us in its rich diversity, and often in its great excellence. The pure sources from which a knowledge of religions may be derived have been disclosed by the untiring labour of European scholars. Impartial criticism has now become possible. Does it confirm our former sentence? Its first requirement is really this, that we abstain from comparisons, not only because they are so very difficult, but also because they can so easily be unjust. In this case, however, we must transgress this first commandment, because it is only by comparison that we can determine whether many persons are right in assuming a specific difference between Israel's religion and its sisters. Without a shadow of a doubt, then, we deny the existence of such a difference. Those who think they notice it, overlook that which is defective and erroneous in the religion of Israel, and have no eye for the excellences of other religions. If we avoid this double partiality, the comparison, in our opinion at

least, will still result in favour of Israel, but at the same time will show that we have not now to do with such a contrast as that between light and darkness. Like every other product of man's spiritual activity, the Israelitish religion has its defects, its onesidedness, the faults of its virtues. In many respects it may excel its sister religions, in other particulars it must yield to them. All this cannot be shown in detail here; in the course of our investigation its confirmation will be found unsought. For the moment it is enough for us to know that also from this side no difficulty can be alleged against the standpoint of modern religious science.

So, then, in conclusion, the belief in the exceptional origin of the religion of the Israelites is founded simply and solely on the testimony of their holy records. We have already observed how much that testimony is weakened by the similar pretensions of other religions. But it is quite conceivable that it should make some impression, and that whoever rejects it should be chargeable with the appearance of inconsiderateness. But that appearance vanishes as soon as we look at it more closely. It is true that the sacred books of Israel are unanimous in acknowledging the divine origin of Israel's religion; but if, as is quite fair, we investigate the *how* and *when*, it appears that they are at variance with each other. Although, considered as a whole, the Old Testament may with justice be adduced as testifying in favour of supernaturalism, its separate parts, regarded by the light of criticism, speak loudly for a natural development both of the Israelitish religion itself and of the belief in its heavenly origin. As soon as the dispute between the whole and its parts is noticed, it is decided. Or rather—for here there can be no question of dispute—he who relies upon the impression made by the whole, without interrogating the parts one by one, repudiates the first principles of all scientific research and pays homage to superficiality. The case speaks for itself: as soon as it began to be clear that the testimony of Israel's sacred books could not stand the test of a searching inquiry; as soon

as it appeared that they were least trustworthy just in those places where their accounts seemed to afford the most unequivocal proof of the truth of supernaturalism—from that moment, especially in connection with all the other motives which lead to the rejection of supernaturalism, its fall was an assured fact. Some of the results of critical research still lack that certainty and precision which is desirable; he who, for whatever reason, will know nothing of criticism, can still entrench himself behind the mutual disputes of its supporters. But in the estimation of an impartial judge, this—very natural—ignorance of details detracts nothing from the certainty of the main point. In spite of its former mistakes and its present defects, the careful study of the books of the Old Testament affords a colossal and, as a whole, incontestable proof of the correctness of the starting-point of modern theology.

Among the causes which have given rise to the more recent view of Israel's religion, the critical study of the Old Testament, which might by this time have kept its centenary, could not be forgotten. But we cannot rest satisfied with the little which, in connection with it, has been said of this memorable collection. Let it therefore be regarded as an introduction to a more special treatment of *the sources* of our history, to which we now wish to pass.

II. OUR SOURCES.

THE entire literature of Israel, so far as it originated within the period of which we have to treat, or bears witness of that period, is the source of our knowledge of Israel's religion and its history.

Besides the books of the Old Testament, that literature includes the so-called Apocrypha of the Old Testament, the Jewish-Alexandrine literature (particularly the writings of Philo), Flavius

Josephus, and the Talmud, especially its oldest portions. The authors of the New Testament also, and especially those who belong to the first century of our era, appear as witnesses for the times in which they wrote or to which they referred.

To most of the books mentioned here we shall return in the course of our narrative; therefore we need not enlarge upon them now. If we succeed in fixing the time of their appearance and the position which they occupy; if we can show how, at a given point, they were born spontaneously, as it were, from the spirit and the tendency of the time, we shall then arrive at a correct judgment and a just estimate of their contents. A preliminary search instituted here would be very tedious, and would yield but slight results in comparison with its length.

We must make an exception, however, with regard to one part of Israelitish literature, the canonical books of the Old Covenant. Must we give special reasons for this exception? Let it be remembered that for by far the greater portion of the time of which we treat, the Old Testament is our sole authority. Let it be considered, moreover, that this collection is in the hands of each of us, and that there are current ideas concerning it, which must have great influence upon the use which is to be made of its testimony; so that we must assume a definite attitude with respect to it. No one will deny that our conception of Israel's religious history entirely depends upon our verdict on the Old Testament.

The canon of the Old Testament was fixed by the Jews. The time at which this took place is a disputed point. According to some, it was as early as towards the end of the fifth century before the Christian era; according to others, whose opinions rest on better grounds, it was not until the first century after Christ that the uncertainty which had prevailed for a long time as to the extent of the canon came gradually to an end. We shall return to this further on. For our present purpose we have enough in the fact that the Jews themselves, whenever it may have happened, formed these and no other books into a

collection of sacred writings or included them in the canon. From this point of view the Old Testament is impregnable. No reasoning can prevent its being acknowledged as a collection of sacred books. Israel's religious development issues, as it were, in this fact. The Old Testament as a whole is the result and an irrefragable witness of that development.

What we have just said of the whole collection is also true of each book in particular. Every book comes forward, as it were, for the time in which it was written, to give evidence as to the standpoint occupied by the author, whether he agreed with his contemporaries or not. This testimony must be simply accepted. We have to investigate how far it reaches and what can be legitimately deduced from it. But further we cannot and may not go. The well-established fact that the author at that particular time gave utterance to such and such ideas is not open to discussion.

For this very reason it is of the highest importance to trace out and determine first of all the age of the various books and of their several constituent parts—for instance, of the different prophecies and psalms. The historian of the Israelitish religion cannot pay too much attention to this. If there exist a tradition with regard to the authors of the books and the times at which they lived—in the titles with which the books are provided, for example—he of course takes notice of it, but does not rely upon it. On the contrary, he considers himself called upon to test such traditions by the contents and the form of the books themselves, in the same way that, where tradition is silent, he can only arrive at certainty by internal criticism, as it is called, by consulting the books themselves or their constituent parts. Now such an investigation into the ages of the writings of the Old Testament has already been carried on for some time and with increasingly greater care. It has yielded important results which, however much they may still be doubted by some, can be used as starting-points without hesitation in describing the religious development of Israel. Thus, for example, we know

for certain that *Ecclesiastes* was not written by Solomon, but after the Babylonish exile; that the last twenty-seven chapters of the book of *Isaiah* are not the productions of Hezekiah's contemporary, but of a later prophet, who flourished in the second half of the sixth century B.C.; that by far the most, if not all of the psalms which bear *David's* name, are incorrectly ascribed to him; that the fortunes and prophecies of *Daniel* were committed to writing shortly after the beginning of the Maccabean revolt in the year 165 B.C. It is unmistakable that these discoveries are of great importance. A history of Israel's religion which makes use of them is distinguished in the most striking manner by that circumstance alone from former representations. In fact, it may be asserted without exaggeration that a real *history* of religious ideas in Israel has been rendered possible, for the first time, by the modern chronological arrangement of the books of the Old Testament.

The Old Testament, however, is something more than a collection of books, each bearing witness to the time at which it appeared. It contains besides, or, if you will, at the same time, a concatenated narrative of Israel's fortunes, from the earliest times down to and including the administration of the governor Nehemiah, in the second half of the fifth century before our era. Nay, the narrative goes back still further: beginning with the creation of the world, it gives us a survey of the most ancient history of mankind, and connects with it a number of particulars about Israel's ancestors, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. It is in the historical books of the Old Testament, from *Genesis* to *Esther*, that we find this narrative. When we call it "concatenated," we do not wish to be thought on that account to deny that some periods are meagrely handled and that here and there blank spaces may be noticed. For instance, we learn very little about the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt, which is said to have lasted 430 years,* and, to take an example from later times as well, scarcely anything of the years which elapsed

* Exod. xii. 40.

between the completion of the second temple (516 B.C.) and Ezra's arrival at Jerusalem (457 B.C.).* In the same manner the connection between the books of *Judges* and 1st *Samuel* leaves something to be desired. But when we consider the whole, we can speak with truth of a concatenated narrative, which, however, from the very nature of the case, is not everywhere equally circumstantial, and here and there is even very incomplete.

Now how are we to judge of that narrative? What use are we to make of it? These are questions which, if possible, are of even greater weight than the examination of the ages of the books, which we have just mentioned. Can we use the Old Testament accounts of the history of Israel as a foundation for our own review of its religious development? Can they serve us for a frame into which to fit, each in its place, the memorials which have been preserved to us elsewhere—in the prophetic and the poetical books? This is the way in which the history of Israel and of Israel's religion was formerly written: it used to start from the data given in the historical books, and to supplement their frequently scanty information chiefly with what the prophets testify, each with respect to his own time. Are we at liberty to go on in this method?

Our answer must be in the negative. For more reasons than one, we cannot follow the guidance offered to us by the historical books, and we must strike out a path for ourselves. It is in truth neither from unwillingness nor from caprice that we take this course.

Our faith in Israel's own accounts of her career is at once severely shaken by the discovery that by far the greater number of those accounts did not proceed from contemporaries, but were written very long after the events of which they treat. We know with sufficient certainty a few of the principal acts and

* Ezra vi. 15, vii. 7, 8. Perhaps Ezra iv. 7—23 falls between the two years which we have cited, but even then it would belong to the reign of Artaxerxes I., that is, later than 464 B.C.

the dates of the reigns of nearly all the Israelitish kings. The more complete narratives relating to them are no longer sufficiently guaranteed; those which appear in the books of Chronicles are so recent that it would be folly to accept them blindly. But this applies especially to the accounts of the period of the Judges, the conquest of Canaan, the times of Moses and the patriarchs. They are separated by an interval of many centuries from the facts which they alone communicate to us. Let us take as a specimen the narratives of the exodus from Egypt and the wanderings of the Israelites through the desert. It may be assumed with great probability that some of these narratives were written about the middle of the eighth century (about 750) B.C.; others are evidently still more recent; not one can be proved to have been written before the year B.C. 800. Now, according to the ordinary calculation, the exodus from Egypt falls in the year B.C. 1495, and according to other more credible data about the year 1320 B.C. On the most favourable supposition, therefore, a period of *more than five centuries* intervenes between the event and the earliest account, while a very large majority of the narratives—and just those which are very important for our object—are *at least two centuries* younger. Now let it be carefully noted what this means. When we contemplate a remote antiquity, we are like a traveller who stands upon a height and surveys a far distant prospect. If he runs the risk of forgetting that the objects which he sees close together are in reality far removed from each object, we sometimes, in consequence of a similar optical delusion, scarcely make account of the centuries which lie far behind us. Yet a century was a hundred years then, as it is now. The oldest accounts of the Mosaic time were as far removed from Israel's lawgiver as we Dutchmen are from the beginning of the Hoek and Kabeljauw quarrels. Suppose that we knew of the latter only by traditions which had never been committed to writing up to this time; should we have the boldness to trust ourselves to the historian, who now wrote them for the first time, as a safe guide? Surely

it is almost inconceivable that a narrative which was not written down until after so long an interval, should yet entirely accord with the reality. We find by experience every day that accounts which have been current but for a short period have admitted very many strange elements, and in some cases have become unrecognizable. Without a perpetual miracle, the oral tradition of Israel cannot have remained free from this influence. Even before we have made acquaintance with the contents of the narratives, we take it for granted that they only give us half the truth, if even so much as that.

And this we in fact find to be the case. Narrowly examined, the Old Testament narratives of Israel's earliest history present all sorts of phenomena which forbid us to recognize them as historical. It sometimes happens that we can compare two or more accounts of the same period. Their mutual agreement would bear witness to their trustworthiness, or at all events to the persistency of the tradition which they reproduce. But when now it appears that those parallel accounts differ either in details or in the main point itself, our belief again receives a severe shock. Of course, it depends upon circumstances whether we shall find ourselves at liberty to sacrifice one of the two contradictory narratives, and to regard the other as history. This may happen, for instance, when the relation is such as exists between the books of Kings and the books of Chronicles: here we often follow the earlier narrative without hesitation, because it can be shown that the more recent one, that contained in the Chronicles, is the retouched and altered edition of the other. But very frequently, in cases where they conflict, we can accept neither of the accounts as trustworthy, and their only difference exists in the fact that one is further from the truth than the other.

Usually, however, we possess but one account of the incidents of Israel's history, or for a whole period have but one group of narratives allied to and harmonizing with one another. But even in this case we are not embarrassed, and can adopt more

than one course to determine the relation in which those narratives stand to the reality. First of all we can view them in connection with historical facts which are well established and above suspicion. "In the present lies the past, and in what is what shall be." So sang the poet, and if he speaks the truth, we can reason to an earlier situation from a later one, and test the accounts of the former by the latter. An event does not pass away without leaving any trace, any more than it occurs without preparation. If we succeed in discovering its traces, our conviction of its reality is confirmed. But also, conversely, if we do not find its results in later times, if rather we meet with facts which are incompatible with the supposition that such an event has preceded them, then we reject the accounts which record it, or at least consider them as extremely doubtful. The rule here laid down can be expressed most simply in this way: to be acknowledged as real, every fact must fit into its place in the *historical connection.* It speaks for itself that here the greatest possible caution must be observed. We run the risk of putting the mutual coherence of the narratives in the place of the connection of facts; especially is this the case in criticizing the Old Testament, which does not give us merely detached accounts, but rather a system upon the whole well connected. Everything depends upon the stability of the starting-point. For this purpose we must make use, not of an account which may be doubted in its turn, but of an indisputable fact. When we have found one which answers the requirement, we have further to investigate what such a fact presupposes and what it excludes. We shall often have to admit that the connection of occurrences can be established in more than one way, but we shall frequently arrive in any case at this position: Such and such *cannot* have been the sequence of the facts, *i.e.* we reach a well-founded, although it be a negative, opinion of the value of the historical narratives. The results obtained by this means are more important in proportion as the basis on which we build is firmer and broader. A single event will

usually bear more than one explanation; but a series of facts, an entire situation, the way of thinking, for instance, of a century, not unfrequently afford quite unequivocal evidence of that which must have preceded them. Now in Israel's later condition we continually notice phenomena which remain utterly inexplicable if we are to consider the narratives respecting the previous centuries as historical; phenomena, therefore, upon the strength of which we postulate a past different from that which is depicted in those narratives. We cannot very well enter more fully into this point here, but in the course of our inquiry we shall return to it, and striking proofs will be found to raise it above all suspicion.

Besides this, there is another standard which we can employ. We have a perfect right to ask at any time whether things *can* have happened as they are reported to us. This right has been denied, especially with respect to the so-called miraculous narratives. Both within and out of this country, a spirited conflict is being waged over the question whether they are to be acknowledged as trustworthy in some cases, or must be always rejected as untrustworthy. We will not renew that conflict here. We should not be able to avoid it, if in the Old Testament we met with one or more accounts of miracles ascribed to eye-witnesses, or at least to contemporaries, upon reasonable grounds. But this is not the case. When Ezra and Nehemiah relate to us what they themselves did or experienced, their statements do not present a single deviation from the usual order of things. On the other hand, such deviations are very numerous in the narratives which are separated by a longer or shorter interval of time from the periods over which they extend. Now, whatever standpoint any one may otherwise occupy, he will surely admit that in order to be acknowledged as trustworthy, the account of a miracle must be properly certified. At all events, it is an established fact that most natural events, if they be handed down for a long time by tradition, become exaggerated, and assume of themselves, as it were, the character of miracles.

Against the probability that this has also taken place among the Israelites, there stands nothing but the bare possibility that among them alone tradition has not retained its ordinary character. That possibility becomes gross improbability now that we know for certain—by comparing the accounts with each other and with the facts of later history—that the narratives of the Old Testament follow the customary rule in every other respect. In short, even though it be admitted that God *may* now and then have suspended or modified the operation of natural laws, no one has yet a right to assume for that reason that this really took place among the Israelites. The probability that a departure from the natural order of things must be placed to the account of tradition, or of the narrator, in accordance with analogy, is infinitely greater than the probability that such a departure really occurred, in opposition to all analogy. And besides this, the matter is often unjustly conceived, as if the question of possible or impossible needed to be raised only with regard to the miracles. It may, nay it must, be asked of every fact. Each event, miraculous or not, is bound to certain conditions of time and space; every narrative may be tested by those conditions. In general, this has been far too little done, and encouragement has thus been afforded to the notion that dread of the miraculous alone has caused the rejection of the authenticity of the Israelitish records. This is not the case. Independently of the question whether the Israelites were miraculously fed with manna and quails,* the account of their forty years' wandering through the peninsula of Sinaï must be put aside as unhistorical. A people so numerous as they then were, according to the statements of the narrators themselves,† would scarcely have been able to hold out there for forty days. Without involving ourselves too deeply in the discussion as to whether

* Exod. xvi.; Num. xi.

† Exod. xii. 37, xxxviii. 26; Num. i. 46, xi. 21, xxvi. 51, xxxi. 4, 5, 28. These statistics of the number of the fighting men point to a people of about two millions and a half of souls.

God caused the walls of Jericho to fall down by a miracle, we must reject Joshua vi. as untrustworthy, because it is utterly impossible that Israel's fighting men, 600,000 in number, could have marched round the city for six consecutive days, and on the seventh day seven times.* These are but isolated, and, if you will, insignificant instances. But the rule which they are intended to illustrate can be applied generally, and the services which it renders are the more important in that it often decides our verdict, not only upon a single account, but upon a whole group of narratives. Indeed, the representation of Israel's earliest history presented to us in the books named after Moses and Joshua, must be rejected as in its entirety impossible. Prejudice alone can deny that the miracles related in the same writings must be rejected at the same time. If we be right in exacting the strictest conditions from the man upon whose authority we are to accept a fact which is strange and opposed to analogy, how can a whole series of the most wonderful events rest upon the testimony of writers who were evidently so far removed from the period and the circumstances of which they wrote that their account of them is quite misty?

It is therefore most clearly evident that the Old Testament narratives of Israel's earliest fortunes are entirely upon a par with the accounts which other nations have handed down to us concerning their early history. They have their peculiarities, no less than the nation which has produced them; but, speaking generally, they present the same character as accounts which are as far removed from historical reality as they are. Their principal element is *legend*. The remembrance of the great men and the important events of antiquity was preserved by posterity. Transmitted from mouth to mouth,† it gradually lost its accuracy and precision, and adopted all sorts of foreign elements. The principal characteristics which legend shows among other

* Josh. vi. 3, 4, 8, 9, 11, 14, 15.

† Comp. Exod. xii. 26 sq., xiii. 8, 14 sq.; Deut. vi. 20—25, xi. 18—21; Joel i. 3; Ps. xxii. 31 sq., xliv. 1 sq.

ancient nations are found also among the Israelites. To these characteristics belong, among others, the manner in which it attaches itself to names of places and persons, to songs, parables or short poems, to proverbs and national customs;* and also its palpable exaggeration, which is sufficiently explained by the mere desire to narrate vividly. And again, its tendency to ascribe the actions of many persons or the events of a number of years to a single prominent personage, or to compress them into a very short space of time.

But in the case of Israel as well as of the other nations of antiquity, from legend itself must be distinguished *its committal to writing.* It is certain that the thirst for reality which is proper to our age, was unknown to antiquity. Numerous examples prove to us that men then went to work with great freedom even in representing the immediate past; and with respect to times long gone by, they considered themselves exempted from all responsibility. They fearlessly allowed themselves to be guided in their statements by the wants of the present and the requirements of the future. History was to them a means much rather than an end. If, besides this, we also take into consideration that, from its very nature and from the local diversity of its forms, legend invites, as it were, a free treatment—how natural it seems that the Israelitish historians should not have rendered it in its purity, but should have handled it in conformity with their own point of view, and according to their idea of the wants of their readers! In fact, the influence of the narrators' opinions is unmistakably apparent in their writings. They can even be divided into priestly and prophetic narratives, according to the spirit which they breathe and the tendency with which they are written. Now and then the prophetic and the priestly conception of one and the same event or of one and the same period have been preserved to us,

* Comp. in the book of Judges alone, vi. 11, 24, vii. 25, x. 4, xv. 17, 19; vi. 32; v., ix. 8—15, xiv. 14, xv. 16; vii. 7, viii. 2, 18, 21, ix. 28 sq., 36, 54, xi. 4; xi. 39 b, 40.

and we thus find ourselves in a position to compare them with each other, and to point out the remarkable influence of this twofold standpoint. It is difficult to exaggerate this influence. We cannot give examples here without anticipating; but if any one wishes to form an idea of the modifications which the materials supplied by tradition underwent upon being worked up afresh, let him compare together 2 *Kings* xi. and 2 *Chron.* xxii. 10—xxiii. 21. If the chronicler, under the influence of his sympathy for priests and Levites, could give an entirely different version of the elevation of Joash to the throne of his fathers, which was related with perfect clearness in the older account, with which he was well acquainted, how much more likely was it that the narratives of the more ancient, and considerably less historical, times should assume different shapes according to the views of their authors!

If this be the condition of the sources of our information, how are we to endeavour to arrive at historical truth? For this we are unable to prescribe any general rule. Of course, the narratives are what we must start from. However far soever they may be removed from the historical truth, we can deduce from them the whole or part of that truth, if we only know and observe what metamorphoses it must have undergone before it assumed the shape which it presents in the narratives. Not a little is usually wanting, however, to our knowledge of those metamorphoses. Besides the study of the narratives, therefore, we have recourse to another means which is frequently the only one of which we can avail ourselves with profit. The same well-established facts of later times which obliged us to recognize the want of authenticity in the historical narratives relating to former ages, can also teach us—positively—what the character of the past has really been. Their evidence is indeed usually indefinite enough, but still it is often thoroughly unambiguous, and, as far as it goes, incontestable. If, besides, that evidence be confirmed from other quarters, if we succeed in drawing several lines which all join at one point, our result will acquire

the greatest possible certainty, and will even become a firm foundation upon which we can proceed to build.

That which has been stated here in general terms will be frequently applied and at the same time elucidated in the course of our investigations. But before we point out the path which we shall travel in pursuing these, we will once more glance backwards and review this portion of our Introduction. Do I deceive myself, or does it leave upon many a sad and discouraging impression? Scarcely anything has been talked of but breaking up and casting down. When we began, we fancied we were in possession of a well-connected narrative, which would at least act as a clue to us in prosecuting our search. But gradually it became evident that it could not do us this service. It was found that it was by no means an exact copy of the reality, but differed from it widely, especially in representing the most ancient times. We discovered that many of the accounts are at variance one with another, or contain things which could not so have happened; and we heard mention made of the great influence which the authors' opinions have exercised upon their conceptions of the facts. It is true that in conclusion a way has been pointed out which, in some cases at least, can lead to the knowledge of the historical truth, but it was with the express caution that it can only carry us to a certainty which is but now and then accessible and is always very relative. Must this be our last word? Have we no alternative but to be satisfied with the promise of such meagre results?

In a certain sense, yes. "We know in part:" nowhere is that saying more applicable than on historical ground. When we possess a large number of contemporary memorials of any period, and also the gift of, as it were, resuscitating those dead words, and of thus causing the persons and events of which they testify to live over again in our imaginations, we reach the highest point which can be considered attainable in this department. But even then the historical image which we frame is to no small extent the result of our own personality, and there-

fore the picture hung up by one historian will never entirely agree with that of another. How much greater becomes the influence of those personal peculiarities when the historical documents are few in number and cannot possibly be taken as they stand! Conjecture or divination always, but then especially, plays a most important part. And why should we disguise from ourselves the fact that it brings with it the danger of error, even though it be applied with the greatest circumspection and the utmost precaution? It would be folly to deny this, unreasonable to complain of the inevitable. So necessary to us is the knowledge of the reality, so insatiable is our thirst after truth, that we cannot desist from seeking it, although we know beforehand that it is but approximately that we can discover it.

Still we must guard against going too far in the opposite direction. We are never left altogether without a test for the results which we have obtained. Our representation of the historical reality may have been formed by conjecture; nevertheless it remains susceptible of control. It has been made up from the narratives: the proof of its truth lies in the fact that it explains in its turn the origin of those narratives. We offer, for instance, a supposition with respect to the Mosaic period; on the strength of various indications we assume that the people of Israel and the man who delivered them out of their bondage in Egypt had reached such and such a degree of religious development. We proceed with our investigations, and gradually come to the centuries during which the narratives about Moses and his work were written down. We now succeed in showing that, *if our conception of the course of historical development be the true one*, the representation given in those narratives must necessarily have been formed at that time and could have assumed no other shape. Who will not acknowledge that by this means the accuracy of that conception of ours is strikingly confirmed? The indication of the origin of the narratives becomes the proof, as it were, of the sum. The more satisfactory

this indication is, the greater is the probability which it lends to our supposition. In such an explanation of the origin of the narratives, criticism celebrates its highest triumph.

For our purpose, that explanation is naturally of special interest. The narratives of Israel's youth, received into the sacred records of the nation, gradually became an essential part of the nation's religious belief. Even if they were originally the product of the investigations, the reflection or the imagination of one man, they became, so to speak, the property of all. As such they are very distinctly objects for our study. Their origin and their development cannot be indifferent to us. But in laying bare these, we shall also bring to light their relation to historical truth, and shall justify the representation which we have given of it.

III. PLAN AND DIVISION.

It may appear strange that a separate subdivision of this Introduction is devoted to the plan and division of a history of the Israelitish religion. What can be more simple than such a plan? Surely this history must be related in chronological order, like any other history. At most there may arise some difference of opinion as to the method of dividing it into periods.

If we intended to follow the usual course, we should indeed simply have to speak of the periods, but then we should not be at liberty to omit to do so. The division of the history of the religion of Israel has its peculiar difficulties. In the political history of the nation, the events which make epochs, and consequently open up either a new period or a subdivision of a period, present themselves, as it were, of their own accord. Such facts are: the establishment of the Israelites in Canaan,

the rise of the regal form of government, the disruption of the kingdom of David and Solomon, the beginning of the Babylonish exile, and a few others. But these facts, although of more or less importance in their influence upon the development of the religion, did not cause so great a change within this domain as to induce us to treat them as the beginnings of a new period or subdivision of a period without some hesitation. The possibility of contradiction at any rate remains, and proves that these facts are in reality rather resting-points than actual turning-points.

But we need not involve ourselves in this difficulty. Against the usual chronological treatment of the history of the Israelitish religion, difficulties arise, great enough to induce us to prefer another plan. They are the direct result of the peculiar nature of the sources of our information.

It has been already remarked that, of the first centuries of Israel's existence as a people, we possess either no contemporary memorials at all, or but very few. The development of the Israelitish religion during those centuries must be inferred from the phenomena which present themselves to us at a later period. It seems to me that this can be done with sufficient certainty, if we do not fix our demands too high, and give up for good the knowledge of detail which is no longer attainable. Meanwhile, this state of things has two inevitable consequences. In the first place, the representation of the intellectual work of those first centuries must be but faint; only the main lines can be drawn: the details which would add life to the picture have been irrevocably lost to us. In the second place, it is obvious that in treating of those earliest times, I cannot well refrain from indicating my own interpretation; the reasons for which it deserves the preference need to be pointed out, as well as the difficulties connected with other theories which must lead to their rejection, in spite of everything that seems to plead in their favour. It is true that this discussion might be dispensed with. I might confine myself to advancing my own ideas, and leave the reader to compare them with those of others. But

this would amount to requiring a blind faith. If this faith were yielded, the view advanced would acquire in the reader's estimation a degree of certainty which it properly does not possess; and were this faith refused, the reader would attach scarcely any value to the theory submitted to him, and would get no further than the opinion that it is nothing more than a subjective idea, just as certain or uncertain as many others which might be put in its place. In short, it is almost unavoidable that, in the sight of my readers, I should at first build the edifice of Israel's religious history "with one of my hands working in the work, and with the other holding a weapon."* However difficult it may be to combine one with the other, a double attitude such as this is to be preferred to neglecting the enemy, who, as the looker-on is aware, stands ready to pull down the yet unfinished work.

Meanwhile there is an unmistakable disadvantage connected with this mode of working. If in the course of the investigations there occurred a longer or shorter period, in speaking of which the historian, for want of materials, had to assume such an attitude at once warlike and wavering, one might rest satisfied with it: the impression of uncertainty received in contemplating such an interval would not injure any one's opinion of the whole. But it is different when it is just the first part of the historical survey which appears to want the requisite stability. It is true that from the nature of the case the darkness is greatest in the beginning, and the mists clear away as we go on. But it is nevertheless most natural that the remembrance of that first hesitation should continue to operate and should weaken the impression which otherwise, perhaps, the rest of the work would make. We should easily imagine that there still remained much, too much, that was doubtful. Our faulty and incomplete knowledge of the origin and the earliest development throws a shadow, as it were, over later times, particularly over those which immediately follow the period of early growth.

* Neh. iv. 17.

But when this later period is comparatively much better known to us; when we know but little of it, it is true, but know that little for certain—then do we not find that the chronological method of our investigations gives rise to an unjust and much too unfavourable a verdict upon the whole of our inquiry?

That which we have here spoken of generally, might be urged still more strongly, if we cared to descend to details. But we have already said enough to justify the choice of another plan. We shall attempt to point out clearly and at once the sure foundations of the building. For this purpose we must begin, not with the beginning, but with a period which we know with sufficient certainty from the writings which it has produced. From the description of that strictly historical period the investigation can proceed to the previous centuries, for the latter will really be built upon the former. It will not be until the completion of this investigation that we shall again take up the chronological thread and go on regularly with the historical narrative. At first, therefore, we shall follow in our sketch, not the course of history itself, but the path which we must take in order to learn to know it. By this method there falls upon each period in particular just as much light as should fall upon it. And if our hypothesis as to the earlier and imperfectly known centuries happen to appear less admissible, the reader at all events will have at hand, in the description of the period which will have been placed before him at the commencement, the means of forming, if possible, a better opinion.

The great question now is, with what period are we to begin? As early as possible, of course. But how far back can we go with safety? The answer, which perhaps will surprise some, must be: not further than the eighth century before our era (800—700 B.C.). It is easily proved that we are sufficiently informed as regards that century. Apart from the accounts which refer to it in the historical books of the Old Testament,* and from many historical narratives of earlier times which

* 2 Kings xiv. 23—xx. 21; 2 Chr. xxvi.—xxxii. Comp. also Is. xxxvi.—xxxix.

originated in that century, we possess a tolerably extensive prophetic literature which was committed to writing within its limits. Amos, Hosea, the author of *Zechariah* ix.—xi. (almost a contemporary of the latter writer), Isaiah, Micah, and perhaps also Nahum, appear as witnesses from and for that century. In the face of such a comparative abundance, we have not a single reason for descending still further, to the seventh century for instance. But then no one expected that we should do so. Much rather would it have been supposed that we should take up our position further back. Why not have started from the ninth, or even the tenth or eleventh century, the time of David or Solomon? The answer may be guessed: because from those times we possess no written memorials, or none that are sufficiently guaranteed, or an insufficient number. If any one finds himself at liberty to ascribe many or at least some of the psalms to David, then he has a firm starting-point. But, for reasons which will appear by degrees, we are not bold enough to do this. Even were it otherwise, it would still be inadvisable to build upon a foundation which many regard as insufficient. If it be once granted that some order other than the chronological must be followed, the eighth century recommends itself from all sides as a starting-point.

No lengthy vindication is needed of the manner in which the plan which has now been set forth is carried out in detail. After sketching in a first chapter the religious condition of Israel in the eighth century B.C., we proceed to collect all the materials which can serve to explain that condition. Every effort in this direction ought to rest upon as full a knowledge as possible of Israel's previous fortunes: the second chapter is devoted to investigations into this subject. The important place occupied by the prophets in the picture of the situation in the eighth century obliges us to give a clear view of their labours in former and later times (Chapter III.). After that we try, but as yet only in a general and preliminary manner, to determine the course which Israel's religious development must have followed

(Chapter IV.). The direction having been thus marked out, we attempt, in the fifth chapter, to sketch the outlines of the history of Israel's religion before and during the eighth century. We shall then be able to go regularly forward, and shall have no more occasion to depart from the chronological order. We shall dwell in turn upon the religious development during the existence of the kingdom of Judah to the year 586 B.C. (Chapter VI.); upon the Babylonish exile (Chapter VII.); upon the Sacerdotal government and the promulgation of the Law after the return of the exiles to their native country (Chapter VIII.). Then the mutual relationship of Judaism and Parseeism will engage our attention (Chapter IX.). A following chapter, the tenth, will be devoted to the fortunes of the Jewish religion in Palestine during the Grecian period. Then we shall sketch Judaism out of Palestine, especially Hellenism (Chapter XI.), in order to conclude our historical review with the development of the religion during the last century of the Jewish state. The hasty sketch which we shall still wish to add of the modern history of Judaism from A.D. 70 to the present time, must be considered as an Appendix.

CHAPTER I.

THE RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF ISRAEL IN THE EIGHTH CENTURY BEFORE OUR ERA.

DURING the greater part of the eighth century before our era, two Israelitish kingdoms existed in Canaan, that of Ephraim and that of Judah. Their attitude towards each other was often hostile. Yet they did not forget their relationship, and the memory of the former union of all the "sons of Israel" under one sceptre still remained alive.

At the beginning of the century the kingdom of Ephraim was governed by a powerful king, Jeroboam II., and enjoyed great prosperity while he reigned. But immediately after his death (771 B.C.) that kingdom entered upon a period of internal discord and decline. Zechariah, the son of Jeroboam, fell a victim to a conspiracy six months afterwards. His successor, Shallum, could not hold his ground for more than one month. Menahem was more fortunate, and was succeeded by his son Pekahiah after a reign of ten years (760 B.C.), but the latter soon lost both throne and life through the revolt of Pekah (758 B.C.). Although Pekah managed to retain his position for thirty years, his reign, upon the whole, was very disastrous. We are not surprised that he, in his turn, fell a victim to the same crime as he had perpetrated against his predecessor. Hoshea, the leader of the conspirators, ascended the throne (728 B.C.). He does not appear to have been wanting in ability and energy. But he did not succeed in averting the approaching disaster. In the year 719 B.C., Samaria, his capital, was taken by the Assyrians, after a siege of three years, a number of the principal citizens were carried off, and thus the kingdom of Ephraim came to an end.*

* 2 Kings xiv. 23—29, xv. 8—31, xvii. 1—6.

The kingdom of Judah continued to be ruled by the descendants of David, and was spared the civil wars which so harassed and weakened the northern kingdom. Uzziah (or Azariah), Jotham, Ahaz and Hezekiah, held consecutively the reigns of government. If we except Ahaz, it may be said of them that they were well qualified for their difficult task. The long reign of Uzziah (till 757 B.C.) contributed much to the prosperity of the kingdom. Jotham (until 741 B.C.) was at all events able to maintain that prosperity. But towards the end of his administration there were already signs of the storm which burst under Ahaz and made this weak prince a vassal to the Assyrians. After his death (725 B.C.), Hezekiah ascended the throne; he was fortunate enough to escape from more than one danger, so that he was able to deliver his kingdom from the Assyrians, and to bequeath it in its undiminished strength to his son, after a reign of twenty-nine years (696 B.C.).*

Even this short review shows with how much reason the eighth—together with a large portion of the seventh—century has been called the Assyrian period of Israel's history. The destinies of both kingdoms were almost entirely governed by their relations with the Assyrian monarchy, which began to extend itself in a westerly direction about the beginning of the century, and on its way to Egypt of course came in contact with Israel. Even Menahem had to pay a heavy tribute† to the Assyrian king Pul, and still did not succeed in preserving his trans-Jordanic subjects free from the inroads of that conqueror.‡ But the state of affairs became much more critical when Pekah allied himself with Rezin, king of Damascus, in order to hurl Ahaz, king of Judah, from his throne, and to appropriate his territory.§ The prince who was attacked could not resist the temptation of calling in the help of the Assyrians. Their ruler, Tiglath-Pilesar, was only waiting for such an opportunity to

* 2 Kings xv. 1—7, 32—38, xvi., xviii.—xx.; 2 Chr. xxvi.—xxxii.; Isa. xxxvi.—xxxix. † 2 Kings xv. 19, 20. ‡ 1 Chr. v. 26.

§ 2 Kings xv. 37 seq.; 2 Chr. xxviii.; comp. Isa. vii. 1 seq.

enlarge his power. Damascus was incorporated with his kingdom; Ephraim remained in existence, but lost part of its territory and its independence, while Ahaz too had to pay dearly for the help which he received.* From that time the total ruin of the kingdom of Ephraim was decided. Hoshea at first paid tribute to Shalmanesar,† but afterwards turned to Egypt for support, and rebelled: the heroic defence of Samaria (722—719 B.C.) delayed his fall, but could not avert it. The turn of the kingdom of Judah seemed now to have come. It was in fact brought to the verge of ruin when Hezekiah followed Hoshea's example (711 B.C.).‡ But fortunately the danger was warded off: Sennacherib's army was attacked and much reduced by a frightful plague, and evacuated Judæa.§ Attempts at rebellion in other parts of his wide dominions prevented the king from renewing the attack on Hezekiah, so that the latter suffered no further annoyance from the Assyrians.

The geographical position of Canaan, between Assyria and Egypt, combined with the thirst for universal dominion evinced by the Assyrian kings, necessarily gave rise and favour, in both Israelitish kingdoms, to the idea of seeking support in an alliance with Egypt against the lust of conquest manifested by the rulers of Nineveh. It was just as natural, however, that this alliance did not meet with universal approbation, and that many regarded it as more advantageous to the interests of their country to attach themselves voluntarily to Assyria. In the writings of the eighth century we accordingly find clear proofs of the existence of two parties, which we may call the Assyrian and the Egyptian. In the kingdom of Ephraim especially they were sharply opposed to each other, and also appear to have had influence upon the repeated internal revolutions. Supported by the Assyrian and Egyptian monarchs, whose interests they respectively promoted, they alternately obtained the upper hand,

* 2 Kings xvi. 6 seq. † 2 Kings xvii. 3.

‡ 2 Kings xviii. 13 seq.; 2 Chr. xxxii. 1 seq.; Isa. xxxvi.—xxxviii.

§ 2 Kings xix. 35 seq.; 2 Chr. xxxii. 21; Isa. xxxvii. 36—38.

and in opposition to the intention of their leaders, they contributed their share towards hastening the fall of the kingdom.* In Judah the result was somewhat different: there the people had to thank the alliance with Egypt, at least in part, for their deliverance from Assyrian supremacy.†

Just as we think it natural that these two parties should have been formed, so does it at first seem strange that we also find alongside of them a third, which would as little hear of treaties with the foreigner as of submission to his rule. A citizen of the kingdom of Ephraim, a contemporary of Menahem, Hosea the son of Beeri, condemns alliance either with Asshur or with Egypt. Ephraim and Judah, he writes, were sick; the former had sought help from the Assyrians, but "they shall not heal you, nor cure you of your wound."‡ To call now to Asshur, then to Egypt, is folly: "Ephraim is like a silly dove, without understanding."§ To make a covenant with Asshur, to send balsam to Egypt, is "to give pasture to the wind, and to follow after the east wind;" it is of a piece with the fact that they "all the day long multiply lies and desolation."‖ The time is coming when the nation itself will confess that "Asshur shall not save us; we shall not ride upon (war-) horses;"¶ the time when bow and sword shall be broken, and war abolished out of the earth.** A younger contemporary of this Hosea, Zechariah the son of Berechiah, cherishes the same expectations. Israel's God will "cut off the chariots from Ephraim and the horses from Jerusalem; the battle bow also shall be hewn in pieces,"†† while "the riders on horses shall be confounded."‡‡ Micah, who lived during Hezekiah's reign, goes still further. Hosea had already complained that Judah "multiplied fenced cities," and had announced that they should be burned,§§ and Micah

* Comp. Hos. v. 13, vii. 11, viii. 9, x. 6, xii. 1; 2 Kings xvii. 4.

† Comp. Isa. xxix. 15 seq., xxx., xxxi. 1—6; but also 2 Kings xix. 7, 9; Isa. xxxvii. 7, 9.

‡ Hos. v. 13. § Hos. vii. 11. ‖ Hos. xii. 1. ¶ Hos. xiv. 3.
** Hos. ii. 18. †† Zech. ix. 10. ‡‡ Zech. x. 5 b. §§ Hos. viii. 14.

agrees with him, and prophesies that not only the (war-) chariots and horses shall be rooted out, but also that the strongholds and fortresses shall be laid waste.* After the wars which are now about to take place, and which will result in the defeat of Asshur, there will follow a time of universal peace, in which "the swords shall be beaten into ploughshares, and the spears into reaping-hooks, and nation shall no longer lift up sword against nation."† Isaiah too, the son of Amoz, contemporary with Micah and akin to him in spirit, expects a similar future.‡ That this prospect is connected with such ideas as we meet with in Hosea is probable in itself, but it is moreover evident from Isaiah's own unequivocal statements. He imputes it to his nation as a sin that "their land is full of horses, and their chariots are innumerable."§ He speaks with indignation of the king's counsellors who planned an alliance with Egypt:

"The wisdom of those wise men shall perish,
The understanding of those prudent men shall hide itself.
Woe unto them that seek to conceal themselves from Jahveh, hiding their counsel,
Whose works are done in darkness,
While they say, Who seeth us? and who knoweth us?"‖

They despatch envoys to Egypt and seek support from the king of that realm; they send him costly presents, but all this shall be of no avail:

"The strength of Pharaoh shall be your shame,
And flight under the shadow of Egypt your confusion."¶

If they imagine that their swift horses will be of great service to them, their expectation will be realized, but not at all in the way which they think: in flight before the enemy shall the excellence of their horses appear, but so shall the swiftness of

* Mic. v. 10, 11, 14 b.
† Mic. iv. 3, comp. v. 5.
‡ Isa. ii. 4, and elsewhere.
§ Isa. ii. 7.
‖ Isa. xxix. 14 b, 15.
¶ Isa. xxx. 3.

their pursuers.* Once more Isaiah gives utterance to these thoughts: "Woe"—he testifies with all emphasis†—

"Woe unto them that go down to Egypt for help,
And stay on war-horses,
And trust in chariots, because they are many,
And in horsemen, because they are very numerous;
But look not unto the Holy One of Israel,
Neither seek Jahveh!
Yet he also is wise and will bring evil;
He will not call back his words;
He will arise against the house of the evil-doers,
And against the help of them that work iniquity.
The Egyptians are men and not God,
Their horses flesh and not spirit;
Jahveh shall stretch out his hand,
And he that helpeth shall stumble, and he that is holpen shall fall;
They shall all perish together."

In the same spirit he utters elsewhere a general warning against trusting in man.‡ But—as we very naturally ask—how can Judah make a stand against the more powerful Assyrians? or does Isaiah preach slavish submission to their rule? No, he does not do that. He values the independence of his country as highly as his political opponents value it. But he has his own ideas as to the way in which it must be maintained or won back again: "in returning and rest shall ye be saved: in quietness and confidence shall be your strength."§

Although, at first sight, these political views may seem strange to us, they become thoroughly explained when we examine them in connection with the religious conviction of which they are the complement. If the men whose words we have just quoted condemn alliance with the foreigner, dependence upon chariots and horses, in a word, confidence in men and in one's

* Isa. xxx. 16, 17. † Isa. xxxi. 1—3. ‡ Isa. ii. 22. § Isa. xxx. 15.

own strength, it is because they wish Israel to rely upon Jahveh and upon him alone. We have already heard them express that wish, and we also find it again in other parts of their writings. "If ye believe not, ye shall not abide," says Isaiah.* And again, "he that believeth shall not lose courage."† But it is unnecessary to refer to any more passages for proof: they present themselves of their own accord whenever we examine that religious conviction more closely and trace deliberately the conception of life which results from it.

Amos, Hosea, and the rest of those whose writings we have already consulted and shall use throughout this Chapter,‡ come forward as prophets, envoys and interpreters of a deity whom they call Jahveh. Who is Jahveh? This is the first question which we have to answer.

He is the God of Israel. Out of all the families of the earth Jahveh has chosen the Israelites; he delivered them out of Egypt, led them through the wilderness, and brought them into Canaan, where he continued to reveal himself to them.§ In consequence of this free choice, Israel is the people of Jahveh.‖ So Amos expresses himself, and the rest of the prophets entirely agree with him. "Jahveh thy God, from the land of Egypt:" this idea recurs constantly in Hosea in various forms.¶ "Jahveh, their God, shall save them as the flock of his people," says Zechariah.** In Micah the relation between Jahveh and Israel is even acknowledged by the enemies whom he introduces speaking,†† and the nations say to each other:

"Come, let us go up to the mountain of Jahveh,
And to the temple of the God of Jacob."‡‡

Isaiah calls him, "our judge, our lawgiver, our king, who will

* Isa. vii. 9.
† Isa. xxviii. 16.
‡ Comp. Note I. at the end of this Chapter.
§ Am. ii. 9, 10, iii. 1.
‖ Am. vii. 15, viii. 2, and elsewhere.
¶ Hos. xiii. 4, xi. 1, comp. xii. 7, xiv. 2, &c.
** Zech. ix. 16, comp. ix. 1 b, x. 3.
†† Mic. vii. 10, comp. ix. 5, vi. 8, vii. 17.
‡‡ Mic. vi. 2.

save us,"* and uses combinations such as "the Mighty One of Israel,"† and especially "the Holy One of Israel,"‡ which bring clearly into view the inseparable bond between Jahveh and his people.

As God of Israel, Jahveh dwells in the midst of his people, or, at all events, has a dwelling-place among that people. Hosea calls the land of Canaan the house of Jahveh,§ and as such it is holy and pure;‖ all that lies beyond it is, according to Amos, "polluted land."¶ Zion in particular is Jahveh's seat, the temple built there his house. "Jahveh will roar from Zion and utter his voice from Jerusalem," so runs the beginning of the prophecies of Amos.** And with the rest of the prophets of Judah the same idea is very prominent. Isaiah calls himself and his children signs from Jahveh of hosts, which dwelleth in mount Zion.†† In him as well as in Micah we read of the nations who come up to "the mountain of Jahveh," and who testify that "the law shall go forth from Zion and the word of Jahveh from Jerusalem."‡‡ This conception is connected in Isaiah with a firm belief that Zion is inviolable and that the adversaries are powerless to conquer it: "Jahveh hath founded Zion, and there the poor of his people shall find a refuge."§§ If this belief is repressed in Micah by the spectacle of the sins of the people, the corruption of their leaders is, according to him, especially evident from the fact that "because of them Zion shall be plowed as a field, Jerusalem shall become a heap of ruins, and the mountain of the temple a hill overgrown with forest."‖‖‖

There is nothing unusual in the fact that the people of Israel acknowledged one particular God as their own. The Old Testament itself informs us that their neighbours did the same. The Moabites worshipped Chemosh, the Ammonites Milcom, the

* Isa. xxxiii. 22.
† Isa. i. 24.
‡ Isa. i. 4, and twelve times more.
§ Hos. ix. 15.
‖ Hos. ix. 3, 4.
¶ Am. vii. 17.
** Am. i. 2.
†† Isa. viii. 18, comp. xviii. 7.
‡‡ Mic. iv. 2; Isa. ii. 3.
§§ Isa. xiv. 32, comp. xxxi. 9, &c.
‖‖‖ Mic. iii. 12.

Zidonians Ashtaroth.* But the prophets whose writings we are following, differ at once from the practice of those other nations, in that they will not permit the worship of any other gods besides Jahveh, and oppose it with all their might. This, however, is nothing more than a phenomenon, of which the cause lies deeper—in the idea which the prophets form of Jahveh, of his being and of his might.

Let us pay attention in the first place to the names which their deity bears. It need scarcely be mentioned, that titles which are given to gods in general, are applied also to the god of Israel. Thus he is called *El*, properly "the powerful one;" for example, in the compound word Immanu-el ("El is with us").† The conceptions which that name awoke in the Israelite can be gathered from such contrasts as: "the Egyptian is man and not God (El),"‡ or "I am god (El) and not man."§ Sometimes, when Jahveh is meant, we find with El some adjunct which characterizes him more closely; for example, "the holy," "the mighty," the "living El."‖—Jahveh is as often indicated by the plural Elohim; the singular, Eloah, is only used by poets,¶ and its primitive meaning is "fear," hence "that which is feared;" the same thought has, of course, been preserved in the plural. We shall investigate further on how this plural can be employed with respect to a single deity; for the present it is enough for us to know that gods in general,** but also the one God of Israel in particular, are called *Elohim*.†† It is evident that the names which are used exclusively for him are of greater importance to us.

Among the latter, the name Jahveh itself would demand our

* I Kings xi. 5, 7; 2 Kings xxiii. 13; Judges xi. 23, 24.
† Isa. vii. 14, comp. viii. 10, xii. 2; Hos. xi. 12; Mic. vii. 18.
‡ Isa. xxxi. 3; comp. above, p. 38. § Hos. xi. 9.
‖ Isa. v. 16, x. 21; Hos. i. 10.
¶ E.g. Deut. xxxii. 15, 17, in a poem of the 8th century.
** E.g. Mic. iii. 7; Isa. viii. 19, 21.
†† Am. iv. 11; Hos. iv. 1, vi. 9, comp. xii. 3.

attention before all others, if its meaning were quite certain. But this is by no means the case. We may assume, however, that in the eighth century that name was already regarded by many, rightly or wrongly, as a derivation of the verb *to be;* it was explained by "he is," and in it was seen the expression of the unchangeableness and faithfulness of the god to whose essence the name corresponded.* How far this interpretation agreed with the original sense of the word, we shall examine further on; we may assume it to be probable that the prophets allowed this interpretation, and this is the chief point for us here. Other names of which they made use are less uncertain in meaning. Especially in Amos† and in Isaiah,‡ Jahveh is called the Lord (Adon or Adonai), in which word, with the Israelites as well as with us, the two ideas of ruler and owner are united. Still more frequent is the appellation, Jahveh, the god of hosts,§ or more briefly, Jahveh of hosts.‖ It proves that Jahveh was thought of as in heaven. This is "his place," whither —according to Hosea¶—he returns, when his people show that they do not value his presence; whence—according to Micah** —he comes forth and descends to tread upon the high places of the earth; which can therefore be called also his "holy temple."†† There, in heaven, dwelt the stars, "the host of heaven," and the angels, who in the minds of the Israelites were closely connected with the stars, as they were indicated by the very same name. Over those celestial bodies and celestial inhabitants Jahveh rules; they surround him and execute his commands; therefore he is called "Jahveh of hosts." The vision of the calling of Isaiah‡‡ can in some measure, at least, give us an idea of what that name expressed to the consciousness of the Israelite.

Besides the names borne by Jahveh, we have to notice the

* Exod. iii. 14. † Am. i. 8, iii. 7, 8, 11, &c.
‡ Isa. i. 24, iii. 1, 15, &c.
§ Am. iii. 13, iv. 13, v. 14—16, vi. 8, 14; Hos. xii. 5.
‖ Isa. i. 9, and elsewhere, about 40 times; Mic. iv. 4; Am. ix. 5.
¶ Hos. v. 15. ** Mic. i. 3. †† Mic. i. 2. ‡‡ Isa. vi. 1—8.

qualities attributed to him. Among these holiness stands first. Amos ascribes it to Jahveh* and to his name,† that is to his essence, as it is expressed by that name. In Hosea too he is called holy in some places.‡ But it is especially in Isaiah that this attribute is conspicuous:

> "Holy, holy, holy is Jahveh of hosts,
> The whole earth is full of his glory"—

cried the seraphim to each other in the vision.§ In the prophet's mind, Jahveh's essence is expressed so exactly and fully by this name, that he is fond of using the combination "the Holy One of Israel,"‖ by which he intimates that the deity which had chosen Israel and was served by Israel bears the character of holiness, and is thereby distinguished from other gods. The examination, therefore, of the meaning of this adjective, which has almost become a proper name, is obviously of great importance. "Holy" (kadosh) is opposed to "common:"¶ as the latter indicates that which is accessible to all, and may be used by all, so the former gives the idea of separation, with which is easily connected that of purity and of elevation. Jahveh is thus called the Holy One, because he is distinguished from and far excels all created beings; it is as much the spotless purity of his being as his exalted majesty which is expressed by his name. When Micah—who, however, only once calls heaven "the temple of Jahveh's holiness"**—addresses Jahveh as him "who dwells solitarily,"†† or describes him as "God on high,"‡‡ these two formulas are, at all events, nearly related to the "holiness" which is so often mentioned by his contemporary Isaiah. The name "exalted," which we meet with in Hosea,§§ expresses something of the same sort. In the same author we at once recognize the original meaning of "holy," when he introduces Jahveh speaking in these words:

* Am. iv. 2. † Am. ii. 7. ‡ Hos. xi. 9 b, 12.
§ Isa. vi. 3. ‖ See above, p. 40, note ‡.
¶ Lev. x. 10; Ezek. xxii. 26, xlii. 20, xliv. 23. ** Mic. i. 2.
†† Mic. vii. 14. ‡‡ Mic. vi. 6. §§ Hos. xi. 7.

"For I am a God and not a man,
Holy in thy midst, and I will not enter into the city:"*

it is true that Jahveh dwells in the midst of his people, but he keeps himself apart, just as he is distinct from mankind and—for this the prophet wishes to make evident—is exalted far above their passions and weaknesses. Nor does Isaiah depart from that fundamental meaning when, as in the choral song of the Seraphim, the "holiness" of Jahveh corresponds with his "glory." If we be right in inferring from this that in other passages also which speak of this "glory,"† the prophet has before his mind Jahveh the Holy One, the same may be said of the tolerably numerous utterances which mention light and fire as symbols of Jahveh or signs of his presence. When Jahveh is said to "send" or to "cast" fire,‡ we naturally think of the fire of lightning which he darts, and remember that in thunder Jahveh makes his voice heard.§ These descriptions, therefore, are connected with the idea of Jahveh as dwelling in heaven, and definitely ascribe to him the storms which are so violent in the East. Amos, however, goes a step further when he makes Jahveh assail the house of Joseph "like fire."‖ And the connection between such phenomena and Jahveh himself becomes still closer in passages such as these:¶

"The light of Israel shall be for a fire,
And his Holy One for a flame,
And it shall burn and shall devour his thorns and briers in one day."

"Behold the name of Jahveh cometh from afar,
His anger burneth, and violently riseth the smoke on high;
His lips are full of indignation,
And his tongue is as a devouring fire."

* Hos. xi. 9 b.

† Isa. iii. 8, comp. ii. 10, 19, 21 (in the original another word, not *cabôd*, but *hadár*), xxxiii. 21 (*addîr*).

‡ Am. i. 4, 7, 10, 12, 14, ii. 2, 5, vii. 4; Hos. viii. 14; comp. Isa. xxix. 6.

§ Am. i. 2; Isa. xxx. 30, and elsewhere. ‖ Am. v. 6.

¶ Isa. x. 17, xxx. 27, xxxiii. 14; comp. also iv. 5, xxx. 30, xxxi. 9.

"The sinners in Zion are afraid,
Trembling seizeth the hypocrites:
'Who among us can dwell with a devouring fire?
Who among us can dwell by a hearth always glowing?'"

Such images are not accidental, nor can they be replaced by others. Much rather is there an unmistakable connection between the highly exalted, inaccessible "Holy One of Israel" and clear, unsullied light, or, at the same time, the devouring fire. As the "sinners in Zion" ask who of them can endure a devouring fire, the holiness of Jahveh, according to Isaiah, inspires awe or even alarm. "When"—he writes—"the Israelites shall see their children, the work of Jahveh's hands, in their midst,

They shall *sanctify* his name,
Yea, they shall *sanctify* the Holy One of Jacob,
And shall *fear* the God of Israel."*

And elsewhere:

"Jahveh of hosts, him shall ye *sanctify*;
Let him be your *fear*, let him be your dread."†

Therefore we shall not be digressing if we now proceed at once to examine the prophets' ideas on *Jahveh's might*, both as it extends over nature and over mankind. On the contrary, an intimate bond subsists between Jahveh's holiness and the extent of his dominion.

We need scarcely remind our readers that our natural science was unknown to the Israelites of old, and therefore to the prophets. Their ideas of the size of the earth, its relation to the sun, moon and stars, the origin of natural phenomena, of wind, rain and thunder-storms—were still very undeveloped and childish. They had no inducement purposely to make known their views of nature in the prophecies which they bequeathed to us. But from the few hints which we there find, we infer that their

* Isa. xxix. 23: "Sanctify" means here and in the following passage, *to consider holy*, to honour as holy or highly exalted. † Isa. viii. 13.

ideas did not differ from those given more fully and in detail in, for instance, the book of Job and many of the Psalms. In their estimation, then, the earth was an extended plain, upon which rested the vault of heaven, where the sun, moon and stars moved round, and under which extended the sheol, the great kingdom of departed spirits. But we will abstain from bringing out these leading features more distinctly. We have now strictly to do with the prophets' ideas of Jahveh's relation to nature.

Amos expresses himself on this point more clearly and more fully than the rest of our witnesses. With him Jahveh is the creator and supreme ruler of heaven and earth. It is he

"That maketh the seven stars and Orion,
And turneth the thick darkness into the morning,
And maketh the day dark as night;
That calleth the waters of the sea,
And poureth them over the face of the earth:
Jahveh is his name!"

"Lo, he that formed the mountains and created the wind,
And declareth to man what is his thought;
That maketh the daybreak darkness,
And treadeth upon the high places of the earth:
Jahveh, god of hosts, is his name!"*

Jahveh gives fruitfulness and regulates the seasons,† but the calamities which overtake mankind, drought, mildew, pestilence, earthquakes, inundations, are also sent by him.‡ It would be useless to attempt to escape the punishment ordained by him: his might extends over all places, over the realm of the dead and over heaven, over the heights of Carmel and the depths of the sea, over Canaan and the most distant lands.§

But although the herdsman of Tekoa‖ may have been more deeply impressed by natural phenomena, and may therefore find more inducements to represent them as revelations of Jahveh's

* Am. v. 8, ix. 13, comp. ix. 6.
† Am. ix. 13, 14.
‡ Am. iv. 6—11, viii. 8, 9, ix. 5.
§ Am. ix. 2—4.
‖ Am. i. 1, vii. 14, 15.

might than the rest of the prophets, this does not make it the less true that in this they unanimously agree with him. According to Hosea, it is Jahveh who gives to or withholds from Israel corn, wine and oil; the silver also, the gold, the wool and the flax, with which they clothe themselves and adorn their images, are his gifts.* When, in course of time, the wild beasts and the birds no longer annoy them, it is because Jahveh has made a covenant with them.† The same is the opinion of Zechariah, when he exhorts his contemporaries to have nothing to do with the teraphim—of which more hereafter—and the soothsayers, but, on the contrary, addresses them in these words:

"Ask ye of Jahveh rain in the time of the latter rain:
Jahveh will make the lightnings,
And will give you abundance of rain,
To each of you the herb in the field."‡

Micah too ascribes the same command over nature to Jahveh, when he calls him "the lord of the whole earth,"§ or threatens in his name:

"Thou shalt sow, but shalt not reap,
Thou shalt tread olives, but shalt not anoint thee with oil,
And grape juice, but shalt not drink wine."‖

But this conception of Jahveh's might also forms the foundation of Isaiah's utterances upon the past and future of his nation. Read how, with allusion to Israel's exodus from Egypt, he predicts the drying up of the Nile,¶ describes the nature of wild beasts as altered at Jahveh's command,** and sketches the fruitfulness ordained by Jahveh,†† or the approaching desolation of Egypt.‡‡ Let it be remembered that Jahveh—in Hosea "Israel's Maker"§§—is called by Isaiah "man's Maker."‖‖

Jahveh rules and orders the human, as he does the natural world. It does not require to be shown by quotations that the

* Hos. ii. 8, 9. † Hos. ii. 18. ‡ Zech. x. 1, 2. § Mic. iv. 13.
‖ Mic. vi. 15. ¶ Isa. xi. 15. ** Isa. xi. 6—8. †† Isa. xxx. 23.
‡‡ Isa. xix. 5 seq. §§ Hos. viii. 14. ‖‖ Isa. xvii. 7.

prophets were convinced that he directed Israel's destinies. "He knows Ephraim, and Israel is not hid from him."* It should merely be observed that this direction is understood by them in a very wide sense, so that it includes also the greatest events which affect the destinies of the world. Thus, for example, the extension of the power of Assyria, which will soon be found to be dangerous and fatal to Israel, is, according to Amos, a dispensation of Jahveh.† But the same prophet goes further, and sees in Jahveh the supreme disposer of the destinies of nations in general, even when Israel is not concerned in them. It is Jahveh who has brought the Philistines from Caphtor and the Syrians from Kir to the places where they afterwards dwelt;‡ who punishes not only the acts of violence committed by the surrounding nations against Israel,§ but also the assaults of the Moabites upon Edom.‖ And as he disposes important events, so he rules also over the incidents of daily life: "is there an evil in the city that Jahveh doeth not?"¶ The rest of the prophets too agree with Amos, although each of them, as was to be expected, expresses his conviction in his own way. Thus in Isaiah, for instance, the uselessness of opposition to Jahveh's plans is made very prominent. Hear how he asks:

"Jahveh of hosts hath purposed it: who shall disannul it?
And his hand is stretched out: who shall turn it back?"**

More than once this prophet points to man's impotence against God, whose will he accomplishes, while he imagines that he is realizing his own devices. Thus the Assyrians grow proud of their conquests, while in reality they have been nothing but the instruments of which for a time Jahveh has made use.†† The obstinacy of the great men of Judah against Jahveh is as foolish as clay resisting the potter.‡‡ These sayings acquire still greater force when we remember that, according to Isaiah, man's incli-

* Hos. v. 3 a.
† Am. vi. 14.
‡ Am. ix. 7.
§ Am. i. 3—15.
‖ Am. ii. 1.
¶ Am. iii. 6 b.
** Isa. xiv. 27.
†† Isa. x. 12—15.
‡‡ Isa. xxix. 16.

nations are also under the supreme rule of Jahveh. It is he who has poured out a spirit of stupor upon many of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, has blinded their eyes, and has, as it were, covered their heads;* it is owing to his ordination that the prophet preaches to a large portion of his people in vain.†

This idea of Jahveh's all-embracing activity is connected in the prophets with the conception of "the spirit of Jahveh." The original word (*ruach*) really means *the act of blowing*, and thence both *the breath* and *the wind*. Inasmuch as Jahveh is "the living God,"‡ he has "spirit" or "breath,"§ just as the prophetic writings ascribe to him a "soul"‖ and a "heart."¶ But it was no less natural that the power which he exercised in spiritual matters should be especially regarded as a breath proceeding from him. The qualities which Jahveh himself possesses, or which are valued most highly in man, become the portion of him upon whom "the spirit of Jahveh" rests,

> "The spirit of wisdom and understanding,
> The spirit of counsel and courage,
> The spirit of knowledge and of the fear of Jahveh."**

In the prophet especially, "the man of the spirit,"†† this power works, to give him strength, judgment and courage;‡‡ that which occurs against the prophet's wish, is "not of Jahveh's spirit."§§ In the same manner Jahveh becomes

> "A spirit of judgment to him that sitteth in judgment,
> Of strength to them that turn the battle back to the gate."‖‖

The varying character of the spirit which continually goes forth from Jahveh corresponds with the great diversity of his operations: besides the spirit "of justice," the spirit "of destruction"

* Isa. xxix. 10. † Isa. vi. 9, 10.
‡ Hos. i. 10; comp. Isa. xxxvii. 4, 17.
§ Mic. ii. 7; also Isa. xxx. 33 (in the original another word of similar meaning).
‖ Am. vi. 8; Zech. xi. 8; Isa. i. 14.
¶ Hos. xi. 8. ** Isa. xi. 2. †† Hos. ix. 7.
‡‡ Mic. iii. 8. §§ Isa. xxx. 1. ‖‖ Isa. xxviii. 6.

is named;* nay, as we just now pointed out, the "spirit of stupor" also comes from Jahveh.† In a word, the idea that Jahveh has spirit and that spirit issues from him, enables the prophet to express vividly his conviction as to Jahveh's many-sided activity in the world of man.

Jahveh's dominion over nature, and his disposal of the destinies of nations and individuals, which for a moment we have kept apart for the sake of our review, stands most intimately connected in the minds of the prophets. In short, it can be said that they believe in *a moral government of the world.* Their conception of this is of course entirely governed by their fundamental conviction that Jahveh is the God of Israel. All the phenomena which present themselves to them in nature, or within the political horizon, stand connected in some way or other with Israel. It will presently appear that in the estimation of the prophets the religious and moral condition of the people left much to be desired: Israel must therefore be punished and brought to repentance by chastisement. According to their ideas, Jahveh makes all things subservient to this great end. His wisdom—which is recognized and celebrated, especially in Isaiah‡—causes him, out of the abundance of the means at his disposal, to make use of just those from which the best result may be expected. Soon, according to the expectation of the prophets—time after time disappointed, but never enfeebled—soon shall Jahveh's object be attained.

We shall presently examine this government of the world more closely. But first we have forced upon us a conclusion which we must state at once. If the prophets' ideas of Jahveh, his being and his might, have been interpreted aright, then their belief in him was *monotheism.* We use this word, here and hereafter, in the stricter sense, and therefore we mean *the recognition and worship of one only God.* That we have a perfect right to ascribe this to the prophets, follows from the description which

* Isa. iv. 4. † Isa. xxix. 10.

‡ Isa. xxviii. 23—29, xxix. 24, xxxi. 2, xxxiii. 6.

we have already given of their standpoint. In the idea that Jahveh is "the God of Israel," there undoubtedly lies a certain limitation. So long as we know nothing more of Jahveh than this, we expect to find that other gods are acknowledged besides him. But in proportion as we prosecute our search, it becomes more evident that this expectation is not realized. Jahveh is not only "lord" and "king," he is also "the god of hosts" and "the holy one," whose glory fills the whole earth. He is the creator of nature; man also has to thank him for existence. With his eye always upon Israel, but yet directed towards all things, he exercises unlimited dominion. In the thoughts of the prophets of the eighth century before Christ—for it is of them alone that we speak—there is no room for other gods besides a deity such as this. Jahveh can have *servants*—and he has them, great in number and of various ranks*—but *gods*, who would always have to possess a certain independence and a special authority, he does not tolerate beside himself. "I am Jahveh, thy god from the land of Egypt, and thou shalt know no god but me, and there is no saviour beside me."†

This monotheism of the prophets fully accounts for the judgment which they pronounce on the gods of other nations, and, conversely, it could be inferred from that judgment. Still it is important here to understand thoroughly and to represent accurately the actual state of the case. We might easily suppose that the prophetic utterances on the nothingness of those other gods must be particularly numerous. But this is not the case. The words which we have just quoted from Hosea properly mean rather that Israel knows no gods besides Jahveh, than simply that those gods do not exist. And does Hosea stand alone in this? Are the utterances of the rest of the prophets of the eighth century before Christ less ambiguous? On the contrary, they do not mention the non-existence of the other gods at all.

* Hos. xii. 4; Isa. vi. 1 seq., and in the passages where Jahveh is called "the god of hosts" (above, p. 42).

† Hos. xiii. 4.

In an historical narrative which is included among the prophecies of Isaiah, as well as in the second book of Kings, very strong assertions as to Jahveh's oneness are put into Hezekiah's mouth: "Jahveh of hosts . . . . . thou art god, even thou alone, of all the kingdoms of the earth; thou hast made heaven and earth . . . . . Save us from the hand of the Assyrian, that all the kingdoms of the earth may know that thou, Jahveh, art the only one!"* But we cannot be certain here that Hezekiah's own words are communicated to us, and when we reflect that no words of quite the same tenor occur in his contemporaries Isaiah and Micah, we cannot think it probable that he expressed himself in this way. On the other hand, we may take it for granted that the prophets of the eighth century before Christ held, essentially, the same opinion of the false gods as the writer of this narrative. They call them, at least, by a name (*elil*, allied by sound to *el*, god) which shows their nothingness or vanity, and—which is saying much more—they simply identify them with their images, which they hold up to ridicule and contempt, as "the work of men's hands."† So Isaiah speaks of the Israelites' "false gods of silver and of gold;"‡ and elsewhere he compares the "false gods" to "graven images," when he introduces the Assyrian king speaking these words:

> "As my hand hath reached the kingdoms of the *false gods*—
> Although their graven images were more numerous than those of Jerusalem and Samaria—
> Shall I not, as I have done unto Samaria and her *false gods*,
> So do also to Jerusalem and her *images?*"§

And Hosea also had already said:

> "They sacrifice unto Baalim, and burn incense to *graven images.*"‖

* Isa. xxxvii. 16, 20, comp. 19 (2 Kings xix. 15, 19, comp. 18).
† Isa. ii. 8, xvii. 8; comp. Mic. v. 13.
‡ Isa. ii. 20, xxxi. 7.
§ Isa. x. 10, 11.
‖ Hos. xi. 2.

From this identification of the false god with its image, it further results that the prophets usually make no distinction between the worship of false gods and that of images. It is a fixed principle with them, that Jahveh may not be represented by an image. When this nevertheless happened—and we shall soon see that it was far from uncommon—the worship of Jahveh appeared to them to be thereby placed upon a level with the adoration of false gods. Thus we know that in the kingdom of Ephraim the national god was worshipped under the form of a calf or young bull. Without inquiring after the meaning which the Israelites themselves attached to that image, Hosea writes: "Of their silver and their gold have they made them images—that they might be cut off! Thy calf, O Samaria, repels from itself; mine anger is kindled against them; how long will they not endure innocency? For this (calf) also is from Israel; a workman made it, and *it is no god.*"* Passages such as these are the best proof that the Jahveh-worship of the prophets leaves no room for the recognition of other gods; the adoration of those gods they turn into an absurdity by placing it upon a par with the worship of the images themselves; nay, they consider this to be so essential a characteristic of the worship of false gods, that the image of Jahveh himself is to them a no-god.

The relation of these ideas of the prophets to those of their contemporaries shall be examined more closely by and by. We will first finish the sketch of the prophets' doctrine of Jahveh.

Jahveh being so closely connected with the Israelites, it is but natural that he has made known his will to them, and has required certain specific duties. First of all he has a right to Israel's exclusive worship: the adoration of false gods is the greatest sin of which his people can be guilty. In this, of course, the prophets agree. But it will not be superfluous to examine how they apprehend and describe Israel's obligation in this respect. Is it in their estimation a burden laid upon Israel,

* Hos. viii. 4 b—6 a, comp. xiii. 2.

which from fear of the terrible Jahveh the nation cannot well cast off? By no means. Such a conception would conflict with the prophets' ideas of Jahveh's nature, and especially of his disposition towards Israel. They speak of his *kindness* towards his people,* of his *compassion* or *mercy*,† of the *grace* which he shows towards Israel.‡ They represent him under the image of a shepherd who takes care of his flock.§ The Israelites are "sons of the living God;"‖ Jahveh has "nourished them and brought them up" as his children.¶ From these and similar statements** it is evident that, according to the prophets, Jahveh's relations with Israel are of the most intimate and tender description. This shows itself nowhere more forcibly than in Hosea, who, regarded from this point of view, even stands more or less by himself. He compares the bond between Jahveh and Israel to a marriage, and, accordingly, apostacy to serve other gods to adultery. With the most tender love and the greatest fidelity Jahveh has cared for the woman whom out of pity he took to himself, and behold, with base ingratitude she deserts him and runs after her lovers, the false gods![††] It cannot be considered as accidental, that we meet with this comparison for the first time in Hosea,‡‡ and in the eighth century B.C. in Hosea alone. He is also the only one of our witnesses who mentions Jahveh's love for his people, for instance in those beautiful words:

"When Israel was a child, then I *loved* him
And called *my son* out of Egypt . . . .
I taught Ephraim to go, taking him by his arms,

* Hos. ii. 19; Mic. vii. 18, 20.
† Hos. ii. 19, i. 6, ii. 23; Zech. x. 6; Isa. xxx. 18; Mic. vii. 19.
‡ Am. v. 15; Isa. xxx. 18, 19, xxxiii. 2. § Zech. ix. 16, xi. 4 seq.
‖ Hos. i. 10. ¶ Isa. i. 2.
** See, *e.g.*, the song of the vineyard, Isa.
†† Hos. i. 2 seq., ii. 1 seq., 15, 18, 19, iii. 1 seq., iv. 10 seq., v. 3, ix. 1, &c.
‡‡ The passages in the Pentateuch, *e.g.* Exod. xxxiv. 15, 16; Lev. xvii. 7, xx. 5, 6, are younger.

But they knew not that I healed them!
I drew them with human cords, with cords of love;"*

and in that no less beautiful promise:

"I will heal their backsliding and *love* them *freely*,
For mine anger is turned away from them."†

Should we not seek the explanation of this in Hosea's individuality, in the tenderness of his heart? When he makes repentant Israel say to Jahveh, "In thee the fatherless findeth mercy,"‡ does he not involuntarily bear witness to the deep impression which Jahveh's compassion and love has made upon his sensitive mind? Thus we are certainly not at liberty to see in words like these the expression of that which every pious worshipper of Jahveh then felt for his god. But if Hosea was able to embrace and to develop the germs of that tenderness, they must have been present in the conception then current of Jahveh's nature and disposition.

But to return to the point whence we started. Jahveh alone must be served, but how? In answering this question, the prophets do not point—as perhaps we expected—to a code of laws in which Jahveh is understood to have made known his will. It is true that the law of Jahveh is mentioned a few times in the usual translation of their prophecies.§ But the original word (*thorah*) really means "teaching," "instruction," and is used by the prophets to indicate their own preaching and that of their predecessors: they call it the "teaching of Jahveh," because it is put into their mouths by Jahveh. Thence it is also that there is no difference beween "the teaching" and "the word of Jahveh," and that both go forth from Jerusalem, where the god of Israel dwells.‖ Now as early as the eighth century B.C. the prophetic exhortations, after they had been delivered

* Hos. xi. 1, 3, 4 a. † Hos. xiv. 4. ‡ Hos. xiv. 3 b.

§ Am. ii. 4; Hos. iv. 6, viii. 1; Isa. i. 10, ii. 3, v. 24, viii. 16, 20, xxx. 9; Mic. iv. 2.

‖ Isa. ii. 3; Mic. iv. 2 a; comp. Isa. i. 10, xxx. 9.

orally, were committed to writing; therefore it is possible that the prophets had such writings in their thoughts when they mentioned "the thorah of Jahveh."* Nothing hinders us from even assuming that they also had in view collections of laws and admonitions to which a higher antiquity or even a Mosaic origin was attributed. But in that case they have still made no essential distinction between those laws and their own preaching, and have ascribed to the former no higher authority. How could this be? If they knew of such laws, they saw in them but the work of one of themselves; for "*by a prophet* Jahveh has led Israel out of Egypt, and *by a prophet* was Israel preserved."† If they revered that predecessor as an interpreter of Jahveh, as surely were they convinced that Jahveh had revealed himself to them, and that what they spoke was "the word of Jahveh." They boldly call the raising up of prophets and Nazarites a proof of Jahveh's faithful care for the welfare of his people,‡ and announce that the Lord Jahveh does nothing without revealing his counsel to his servants, the prophets.§ This conviction is indeed well worthy of our attention here. It is immediately connected with the prophetic ideas of Jahveh's relation to Israel, to which we have just referred. It proves that this relation could also assume a personal or individual character. The prophet is conscious that he is in contact, as it were, with Jahveh or Jahveh's spirit,‖ and that now and then, at least, he has direct intercourse with him. His awe for Jahveh does not separate him from his god; he regards him as highly exalted and yet as very near at hand.

We repeat the question which we just now put: how, in the judgment of the prophets, must Jahveh be served? They evidently proceed upon the supposition that both in the temple at Jerusalem and beyond it, sacrifices are offered and feasts celebrated in honour of Jahveh:¶ once mention is made of tithes;**

* Comp. Hos. viii. 12; Mic. vi, 8. † Hos. xii. 13. ‡ Am. ii. 11.
§ Am. iii. 7. ‖ See above, p. 49.
¶ Am. x. 21, xiii. 10; Hos. ii. 11, xii. 9; Isa. i. 11 seq. ** Am. iv. 4.

the sabbath and the new moon are not unknown to them.* But they nowhere insist upon fidelity in observing these holy ceremonies. On the contrary, they speak of them with an indifference which borders upon disapproval, sometimes even with unfeigned aversion. This dislike can be explained in more than one way; for instance, by their ideas of Jahveh, by the nature of those solemnities, by the character of those who took part in them. We shall return to this hereafter. Provisionally it is enough for us to know that the prophets do not look upon the service of Jahveh exclusively or chiefly as *public worship*. In Amos, for example, Jahveh himself says:

"I hate, I despise your feasts,
And have no delight in your assemblies.
Although ye offer me burnt-offerings and gifts, I will not accept them,
And your thank-offerings of fatted calves I will not regard.
Take thou away from me the noise of thy songs:
I will not hear the melody of thy viols;"†

in Hosea:

"I desire mercy and not sacrifices,
The knowledge of God more than burnt-offerings;"‡

and in Isaiah:

"To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me?
I am full of burnt-offerings of rams and of the fat of lambs,
And I delight not in the blood of bulls, sheep, and goats!
When ye come to see my face—
Who hath required this at your hand to tread my courts?
Bring no more vain oblations;
Incense—it is an abomination unto me,
(So also are) the new moon and the sabbath and solemn assemblies:

* Am. viii. 5; Hos. ii. 11, v. 7; Isa. i. 13, 14.
† Am. v. 21—23. ‡ Hos. vi. 6.

Sin and feasting I can not endure.
Your new moons and your feasts my soul hateth;
They have become a trouble unto me; I am weary to bear them."*

In some of these passages, however, we can perceive at once what the prophets, in the name of Jahveh, do require. The demands which Jahveh makes upon his people are moral demands. They are continually repeated with the greatest emphasis and earnestness; the transgression of these commandments by the large majority of Israel, especially by the leaders and men of distinction, is the theme of most of the prophetic addresses. The solemn declaration that Jahveh takes no delight in the noise of feasts, is followed in Amos by the order:

"But (rather) let judgment run down as water,
And righteousness as an ever-flowing stream."†

And in another place:

"Seek good and not evil, that ye may live,
And may Jahveh, the god of hosts, be with you, as ye have spoken.
Hate evil and love good,
And establish judgment in the gate.
It may be that Jahveh, god of hosts, will be gracious unto the remnant of Joseph."‡

Hosea exhorts in the same strain:

"Therefore turn thou to thy god,
Keep mercy and judgment,
And wait on Jahveh, thy god, continually."§

And Isaiah also:

"Wash you, make you clean,
Put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes,

* Isa. i. 11–14.
† Am. v. 24.
‡ Am. v. 14, 15.
§ Hos. xii. 6, comp. also x. 12.

Cease to do evil, learn to do well.
Seek judgment, turn away the oppressor,
Do justice to the fatherless, defend the cause of the widow."*

And no less striking is Micah, who gives the questions of the pious Israelite and his own answer in this form:

"Wherewith shall I come before Jahveh,
And bow myself down before God on high?
Shall I come before him with burnt-offerings,
With the sacrifice of calves of a year old?
Will Jahveh be pleased with thousands of rams,
With ten thousands of rivers of oil?—
Shall I give my first-born for my transgression,
The fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?"
——"He hath showed thee, O man, what is good,
And what Jahveh doth require of thee;
What but to do justly, to love mercy,
And to walk humbly with thy God?"†

That which we have already learnt from these exhortations is superabundantly expressed in Isaiah: Jahveh demands that *the heart* of his people may belong to him, by no means that they may draw near to him with their mouths, or honour him with their lips.‡

Of course we cannot go on in this way: we should have to write out a large portion of the prophetic literature of the eighth century, if we wished to give a complete review of the moral demands made by the prophets in the name of Jahveh. This they do sometimes in absolute terms, as in the passages quoted above, but for the most part with an eye to the wickedness which they see around them. Intemperance and luxury, oppression of the poor, of widows and orphans, unjust appropriation of another's goods, dishonesty in trade, the sordid pursuit of

* Isa. i. 16, 17. † Mic. vi. 6—8.
‡ Isa. xxix. 13; comp. Hos. viii. 14.

gain, harshness towards debtors: these are some of the sins which the prophets combat zealously.* Isaiah gives us a sort of summary of the prophetic doctrine of morals, when to the question of the "sinners in Zion"—

"Who among us can dwell with a devouring fire?
Who among us can dwell with a hearth always glowing?"

he answers:

"He that walketh righteously and speaketh the truth,
He that despiseth the gain of oppressions,
That closeth his hands from holding of bribes,
That stoppeth his ears to the proposal of bloodshed,
And shutteth his eyes from seeing evil—
He shall dwell on high;
His place of defence shall be a stronghold of rocks;
His bread shall be given unto him and water in abundance."†

Jahveh does not confine himself to condemning the sins of His people, for he is *the righteous one*, and he shows his character by punishing transgressors and rewarding the pious. Of this the prophets are thoroughly convinced. "The ways of Jahveh are right, and the just shall walk in them, but the transgressors shall fall (*i.e.* become unfortunate) therein:" so says Hosea, speaking as it were in the name of all.‡ It is the charge laid by Jahveh upon all his servants, which Isaiah expresses in these words:

"Say ye to the righteous, that it shall be well with him;
For they shall eat the fruit of their doings.
Woe unto the wicked! it shall be ill with him;
For the work of his hands shall be repaid unto him."§

A good part of the prophetic preaching is devoted to proclaiming

* Am. iv. 1 seq., vi. 3—6, viii. 4—6; Hos. iv. 1, 2, vi. 8, 9, xii. 7; Zech. xi. 4—6; Isa. iii. 14, 15, 16—23, v. 8—23, ix. 15, 16, xxviii. 7, 8, xxix. 19—21; Mic. ii. 1, 2, 8, 9, iii. 1, 2, 9—11, vi. 10—12.

† Isa. xxxiii. 15, 16. ‡ Hos. xiv. 9. § Isa. iii. 10, 11.

and applying this law of just recompense. In the adversity which afflicts the people, the prophets see the manifestation of Jahveh's anger at the evil which has been done: famine, inundation, earthquakes, pestilence, disasters in war, are all proofs that Jahveh, "the god of judgment,"* is not slumbering. But it does not escape their attention, that in spite of these repeated visitations the people go on sinning. They then naturally turn to the future. It is with them a fixed belief that then at last full justice will be done. He who persists in his opposition to Jahveh and his demands shall be destroyed: "all the sinners of my people shall die by the sword."† The prophets paint this "day of Jahveh"‡ in the most vivid colours, borrowed from the changing events of the time. If in that day the transgressors in Israel shall receive their reward, it speaks for itself that the heathen also, nay, they before all others, shall be punished for that which they have done amiss. Amos, living in a time when Israel had as yet come into contact only with her neighbours, announces definitely to these neighbours that the violence of which they have been guilty shall be recompensed to them by Jahveh;§ Isaiah and Micah look upon the Assyrians as the instrument of Jahveh's judgment upon Israel's sins, but at the same time expect that what they have inflicted upon others will also overtake them themselves.‖ Thus the theatre of Jahveh's judicial visitations becomes wider, but the rule which he applies in allotting the destinies of nations always remains the same.

There is one feature still wanting in this sketch of the prophets' ideas with respect to Jahveh's moral demands and their administration. It can hardly escape our notice that it is chiefly the sins of the mighty and the distinguished which they assail; most of the transgressions against which they strive are of such a nature as the multitude could not commit. They are

* Isa. xxx. 18.
† Am. ix. 10.
‡ Am. v. 18 seq.
§ Am. i. 2—ii. 3.
‖ See, among other instances, Isa. x. 5 seq.; Mic. v. 5—9.

almost profuse in their assertions that their reproaches are directed especially against the leaders of the people.* This did not fail to influence greatly the whole of their religious convictions, as well as their position in the state. To begin with the latter: the prophets are *men of the people.* It is true that some of them were the offspring of illustrious ancestors, were aristocrats by birth, descendants of princely families. But their appearance as prophets was independent of those outward privileges, as there were some among them—for instance, Amos and Micah at this period—who had sprung from the people. Therefore the prophetic office is by its nature democratic. The necessity of turning against the great, to which it was led by its principles, gave greater distinctness to that tendency. The prophets were obliged to identify themselves, as it were, with those whose interests they continually took under their protection. And thus we easily discover in their writings signs of their prepossession in favour of the humble, the poor and the weak,† and of a certain aversion to everything high and eminent. It was to be expected, and needs no explanation, that the prophets should attack pride and arrogance, with their consequences.‡ But they go further than this: the high and eminent is condemned, because it is high and eminent; the prophets, and especially Isaiah, are convinced that as such it cannot be tolerated by Jahveh; it is as if Jahveh's grandeur required that everything exalted among men should be brought low. This is expressed clearly in the following prediction, among others:

"Jahveh of hosts hath fixed a day against all that is proud and lofty,
And against all that is lifted up, that it be brought low:
Against all the cedars of Lebanon, that are high and lifted up,

* Am. v. 7, 12; Mic. iii. 1 seq.; Isa. i. 23, ix. 16, &c.

† Zech. xi. 11; Isa. xi. 4, xiv. 30, 32.

‡ Am. ii. 14—16, vi. 8; Hos. v. 5, vii. 10; Isa. iii. 1 seq., 16 seq., v. 15, x. 12, 33, 34, xxiii. 9, xxix. 19, 20, xxx. 15.

And against all the oaks of Bashan;
Against all the high mountains
And against all the hills that are lifted up;
Against every high tower
And against every fenced wall;
Against all the ships of Tarshish,
And against all lovely works of art:
And the loftiness of man shall be bowed down,
And the haughtiness of men shall be made low,
And Jahveh alone shall be exalted in that day."*

It is easily perceived that these and similar expectations are actuated just as much by moral as by religious motives. Eminence and pride, according to the prophets, melt into each other, both because they often go together, and because trust in Jahveh, and in him alone, is to them so essentially the main point, that everything which does or can lead away from it is condemned solely for that reason. It would be useless to attempt to decide which of these two motives had the greater influence. Enough that the peculiarity of the religious belief of the prophets is closely connected with the social position which they occupy in the society of their nation. Their politics also, to which we have already drawn attention,† are lay-politics, so to speak, all the more easy to hold in proportion as those who propounded them had less need to apply them directly.

From all the particulars which we have brought together in reference to the moral demands made by the prophets of Jahveh, it appears plainly enough how very much they were in earnest in asserting them. They apply them to the nations, but also to Israel, and with such great emphasis, that they clearly show that they see in this their true calling. At the same time, the perpetual struggle against the same national sins was far from causing them ever to despair of the future of their nation. Their experiences were of such a nature as would have driven

* Isa. ii. 12—17. † Above, pp. 35, 38.

them to despair, or at least to desist from their labour, if they had simply come forward as teachers of morals. No, they speak as envoys of *Jahveh, the god of Israel;* and so firm is their belief in Jahveh's might and his love towards his people, and in the fidelity with which he performs his promises and keeps his word,* that the ultimate result of his direction of the destinies of that people does not seem doubtful to them for a moment. The natural fruit of their religion is *an unwavering hope in Israel's future.*

It is not necessary for our purpose to study in detail the expectations of the prophets of the eighth century with respect to that future. They contain much that is of an individual character, more so than do their ideas of Jahveh's nature and of his moral requirements. The personality of the seer (*i.e.* prophet) and the circumstances of the time were very naturally reflected in the image which he formed of the future. Let us confine ourselves to the principal traits, which recur, with slight modifications, in every description of the approaching blessedness.

We spoke purposely of the prophets' hopes in the future *of Israel.* Their expectations, in truth, concern the whole nation, and not individual persons. We do not discover in them any trace of a belief in immortality. The popular idea of man, which was also theirs, did not promote the rise of that belief. No independent existence was attributed to the vital element in man, so that it was thought that at death it ceased to exist, or returned to Jahveh who had given it. The interment of corpses gave rise to the idea of an under-world or kingdom of the dead (*sheol*), in which the deceased were assembled.† But their prolonged existence, if it can bear that name, certainly could not be called *life.* "The sheol"—we read in a poem which is not without reason ascribed to king Hezekiah—

* Hos. xi. 9 b; comp. Num. xxiii. 19; Mic. vii. 20.

† See, among others, Isa. v. 14.

"The sheol shall not praise thee, Jahveh,
The dead shall not celebrate thee,
They that go down into the pit shall not hope for thy truth.
The living, the living, he shall praise thee, as I do this day;
The father to the children shall make known thy truth."*

Nor is there any mention in the prophets of a return from that kingdom of the dead. When Hosea prophesies: "After two days he (Jahveh) will revive us; on the third day he will raise us up, and we shall live in his sight,"† he speaks, metaphorically, of a resurrection from sin and from the misery which it brings with it, and, besides this, he alludes to the whole of the people of Israel. The "ransom from the hands of the sheol and redemption from death" which he mentions elsewhere,‡ is a deliverance from danger of death, nothing more.§ In a word, those for whom a glorious future in Jerusalem is reserved are said to be "written among the living."‖ Further than this earthly existence the prophets' gaze does not reach. Therefore it is most natural that their expectations concern *the Israelitish nation*. Let us hear in what language they are expressed.

Jahveh sits in judgment, and in so doing gives proof of his justice. But at the same time he is merciful and disposed to forgive.¶ He delays the punishment as long as possible.** He shows pity most willingly.†† And therefore when he chastises his people he does not destroy them.‡‡ The sure result of this punishment will be the conversion of a part of the people. Of this the prophets have no doubt. Hosea is so certain of it that he is able, at the end of his writings, to introduce the people who have returned to Jahveh as speaking.§§ Micah also makes Israel humbled confess her fault by anticipation:

* Isa. xxxviii. 18, 19.
† Hos. vi. 2.
‡ Hos. xiii. 14.
§ Comp. Isa. xxviii. 15, 18.
‖ Isa. iv. 3.
¶ Mic. vii. 18.
** Am. vii. 1—6.
†† Hos. xiv. 4 b.
‡‡ Am. ix. 8; Hos. xi. 8.
§§ Hos. xiv. 3, 4, comp. ii. 14 seq., iii. 5, vi. 1—3.

"I will bear the indignation of Jahveh,
For I have sinned against him,
Until he plead my cause and execute judgment for me,
Until he bring me forth to the light, and I behold his righteousness."*

But it is especially in the prophecies of Isaiah that the hope in such a conversion occupies a large space. He calls one of his sons *Shear-jashub*, "a remnant repents,"† and he continually repeats the idea expressed in this symbolical name.‡ With that conversion a new epoch will be opened in Israel's history. Those who have been carried away captives will come back to their native country;§ the two sister kingdoms, Ephraim and Judah, will again be united,‖ under the rule of the house of David,¶ or, as Isaiah and Micah expect, under the dominion of one eminent king sprung from that stock;** Israel will become more mighty and prosperous than ever before. It is chiefly in describing this future state of bliss that the prophets differ one from another, or, if you will, out-do each other. With one, dominion over Edom and other neighbouring tribes and an abundance of corn and wine stand in the foreground;†† with another, besides these material blessings, the intimate union between the regenerated Israel and Jahveh their god;‡‡ with others, war against enemies is followed by a period of rest and undisturbed peace, which is painted in the most attractive colours.§§ To all this Micah and especially Isaiah add one more touch, the acknowledgment of Jahveh by the nations, and their voluntary submission to his supremacy. We are already acquainted from more than one quotation with the beautiful prophecy which we meet with in Micah as well as in Isaiah,

*, Mic. vii. 9, comp. v. 8. † Isa. vii. 3.
‡ Isa. iv. 3 seq., vi. 13, x. 21 seq.
§ Zech. x. 6—12; Mic. ii. 12, 13, iv. 6, 7.
‖ Zech. x. 6—12; Isa. xi. 11—16. ¶ Am. ix. 11; Hos. iii. 5.
** Isa. ix. 6, 7, xi. 1—4; Mic. v. 2; comp. Zech. ix. 9.
†† Am. ix. 11—15; comp. Zech. ix. 7. ‡‡ Hos. xiv. 2—8.
§§ Zech. ix. 9, 10, x. 4; Mic. iv. 3, 4, v. 4; Isa. ii. 4, ix. 6, xi. 6—9, &c.

and which was probably taken by both from an older man of God:

"Many nations shall go and shall say,
Come, let us go up to the mountain of Jahveh
And to the temple of the god of Jacob,
That he may teach us of his ways
And that we may walk in his paths;
For teaching goeth forth from Zion,
And the word of Jahveh from Jerusalem."*

In Micah we hear but once a faint echo of this expectation;† Isaiah had not only adopted it, but had received it into his soul He predicts that homage shall be paid to Jahveh with presents from Ethiopia,‡ nay, that one day Egypt and Asshur, forming a triad in combination with Israel, shall serve Jahveh together and shall stand in the same relation to him.§

Our sketch of the religious conviction of the prophets of the eighth century is now completed. Only the principal facts could be included in it, but it is these only that were important for our purpose. The last feature which we have reproduced confirms the opinion forced upon us previously, that *the Jahvism of the prophets is monotheism.* If we inferred this first from that which they declare concerning Jahveh, it is fully attested by that which they expect of him in the future. It is this characteristic of the prophets' belief which we must always keep in view in the rest of this chapter, while investigating the popular religion of Israel. In doing this we shall pass over the question, whether this monotheism is to be regarded as the result or the ground of the peculiar excellence of the religious conviction of the prophets. In either case it is a most striking feature of it, and therefore it must be constantly in our thoughts, when we compare that conviction with the ideas of their contemporaries.

---

* Mic. iv. 2; Isa. ii. 3.

† Mic. vii. 17.

‡ Isa. xviii. 7.

§ Isa. xix. 23—25, comp. xi. 10.

A single glance into the writings of the prophets of the eighth century B.C. is sufficient to teach us that they do not express the convictions of the people. The prophets are, above all, preachers of repentance. Wherever they look around them, they find much to reprove. They bring accusations against kings, princes, judges, and even priests and prophets. Therefore it is quite necessary to distinguish their way of thinking from that of their contemporaries, and to try to sketch the latter separately.

Let us not disguise the fact that in so doing we have no small difficulties to overcome. Preachers of repentance usually furnish us with valuable contributions to the knowledge of their times, but yet they are not the guides to whom we prefer to trust ourselves. From the very nature of the case, they do not make sufficient distinctions. They can scarcely help painting the sins which they combat in all their hideousness and representing the rare exception as the rule. It is not their business to place themselves in the position of those whom they see opposed to them, and from that position to estimate the conduct of those opponents. Their power lies in the very fact that they imagine they possess an absolutely valid standard, and that they use it fearlessly. And there is another thing to be remarked. The sins and errors which they zealously oppose, are as well known to their contemporaries as they are to themselves. They have no need to describe them, one word is enough to indicate them. For us, such a hint is frequently altogether insufficient or only half enough. In short, we must pursue our way with the greatest caution, often contenting ourselves with probability and sometimes suspending our judgment, in the hope that our subsequent investigations will throw light upon that which remains obscure so long as we only consult witnesses from the eighth century B.C.

The prophets call Jahveh *the god of Israel:* is this their personal view of the question, or is it the conviction of the whole people? Without the least hesitation we answer, the

conviction of the whole of Israel; in so far as the prophets started from this proposition, they had no contradiction to fear from any one.

The mere fact that they appeared in public proves this. Certainly they were not left unmolested. By threats* or by ridicule,† if not by ill-treatment,‡ attempts are made to prevent their speaking. But this opposition is directed against the essence of their preaching, not against their title. People will not listen to the word of Jahveh which *they* utter, but it is not denied that Jahveh has a right to speak. The priest of the temple at Beth-el, Amaziah, tries to stop Amos. Upon what grounds? Because he prophesies in the name of a strange or unknown deity? By no means. It is because he speaks *against Israel*, and it thus appears that he is a paid conspirator.§ The opposition to Micah and Isaiah is of the same sort. The latter goes to meet king Ahaz, and announces to him, in the name of Jahveh, the failure of the design formed by Pekah and Rezin against Judah and the house of David. He desires the king to demand a sign which will show the truth or falsehood of this prophecy. Ahaz refuses, probably from unwillingness to submit himself to the word of Jahveh, which was directed against the alliance with the Assyrians, but his refusal is couched in very courteous terms: "I will not ask, neither will I tempt Jahveh."‖ In the reign of Hezekiah, who moreover is praised as the model of a pious king,¶ the same prophet enjoyed such great distinction and confidence, that he was consulted about the future of Jerusalem by a message from the king,** and had free access to Hezekiah's palace.†† From all this it is evident that the god in whose name the prophets speak was also acknowledged by the people and their governors as the god of Israel.

Hence too it is that the name Jahveh occurs frequently in

* Am. vii. 10 seq.; Mic. ii. 6.
† Isa. xxviii. 9 seq., comp. xxx. 10, 11.
‡ Am. ii. 11, 12.
§ Am. vii. 10, 12, 16.
‖ Isa. vii. 1—12.
¶ 2 Kings xviii. 3.
** Isa. xxxvii. 1—7.
†† Isa. xxxviii.

the compound proper names which belong to the eighth century B.C., while there are no instances of persons whose names point to the recognition of any other deity—Baal or Molech, for example. The opponent of Amos at Beth-el just now referred to, is called *Amaziah* ("Jahveh is strong"); the priest at Jerusalem, a contemporary and agent of Ahaz, *Uriah* ("light" or "fire of Jahveh"). Think also of such names as Zechariah, Pekahiah, Uzziah, Azariah, Jotham, Micah, Isaiah and so many others.

We arrive at the same conclusion, if we observe that which the prophets state here and there as to their contemporaries, and, among other things, the words which they put into their mouths. Amos knows Israelites who say "Jahveh is with us," and exhorts them so to behave that their words may prove true.* He mentions the feasts kept in honour of Jahveh, and the songs in which he is extolled.† Among his contemporaries there are some who say that they long for "the day of Jahveh," but Jahveh, in the prophets' opinion, will decidedly not satisfy their expectation;‡ and others of whom he makes sure that they will call upon the name of Jahveh, when their need has become very urgent.§ Hosea too starts in his preaching from the supposition that festivals are celebrated and sacrifices offered in honour of Jahveh;‖ the period of punishment which he announces shall differ from the present in, among other things, the suspension of the sacrifices.¶ In the prophecies of Zechariah even the wicked leaders of the people say, "Blessed be Jahveh!" and thus thank him for ill-gotten gain.** We have already seen the nature of Isaiah's intercourse with the inhabitants of the capital. It does not surprise us that he testifies to a regular worship of Jahveh in the temple at Jerusalem.†† It is true, he complains that the heart of his contemporaries is far from

* Am. v. 14.
† Am. v. 21—23, viii. 3—5.
‡ Am. v. 18—20.
§ Am. vi. 10.
‖ Hos. ii. 11, v. 6, vi. 6.
¶ Hos. iii. 4.
** Zech. xi. 5.
†† Isa. i. 12 seq.

Jahveh, but he does not deny that they honour him with their lips.* In the same way Micah knows men who wish to pay homage to Jahveh, but who err in their choice of means;† nay, he states that these very men, to whom he addresses the most bitter reproaches on account of their immorality, rely upon Jahveh and express themselves thus: "Is not Jahveh in our midst? no evil shall come upon us."‡

Perhaps it was superfluous to adduce all these proofs: the entire preaching of the prophets becomes unintelligible, if we may not assume that their fundamental principle was universally admitted. Whence arises their boldness to come forward in the name of Jahveh, to blame, to praise, to announce punishment or reward? It becomes an enigma, if they did not stand upon one and the same ground as their hearers, namely, the common belief in the entirely peculiar relation between Jahveh and Israel.

At the same time, the difference between the prophets and their contemporaries is no less obvious. If it consisted simply in the fact that men did not live up to Jahveh's moral demands, pronounced by the interpreters of his will, it would scarcely surprise us, and, at all events, would not call for any effort at explanation. Those demands are strict: what is more natural than that the reality should not correspond to them? But the difference extends further. That Jahveh's precepts were acknowledged in theory, but denied in practice, is not the true state of the case. No, a great many do not even acknowledge them theoretically. There are some—it can be seen from the passages quoted above—who call Jahveh their god, but yet refuse to know anything of his moral demands; who think that they can satisfy him with sacrifices and noisy festivals. Their idea of Jahveh's being cannot well be the same as that of Amos and Hosea, of Isaiah and Micah. Should we at least find from other places that a difference existed on this ground, then the want of moral earnestness which characterizes the opponents of

* Isa. xxix. 13. † Mic. vi. 6, 7. ‡ Mic. iii. 11.

the prophets would undoubtedly have to be brought into connection with it.

Now this difference we do actually find. The great majority of the prophets' contemporaries serve Jahveh in a sensuous manner, and adore other gods besides him. Their Jahveh is one of many gods; he does not essentially differ from the rest; and therefore he is indulgent with regard to their worship.

In developing this proposition we shall treat separately of the kingdom of Ephraim and that of Judah.

Amos only mentions the idolatry of the Ephraimites once, but he does it in terms which testify to the general spread of the evil. "Father and son," he writes,* "go in unto the damsel *to profane Jahveh's holy name.*" The last words throw the necessary light upon the prophet's meaning. We know from other quarters that women who had dedicated themselves to the service of Baal, or of Ashera, prostituted themselves to the worshippers of those deities and brought their hire to the temples.† These unchaste rites were practised in Israel, not by way of exception, but pretty generally, as Amos clearly gives us to understand. When he adds,‡ that the Israelites "lay themselves down upon pledged clothes by every altar, and drink wine gained by extortion in the temple of their god" (or "of their gods"), we naturally connect these altars and temples with the public worship of those deities. Hosea confirms us in the conviction that Baal at least numbered many followers in Israel. Not only does he expressly say that Ephraim had dedicated to Baal the gold and silver given by Jahveh,§ and that the people had incurred death by sinning with Baal,‖—he speaks also of the "days of the Baalim," that is, the days in which the images of Baal were met with everywhere,¶ and their names were in many mouths.** There is doubtless no difference between these

* Am. ii. 7.
† Comp. Note II. at the end of this chapter.
‡ Am. ii. 8.
§ Hos. ii. 8.
‖ Hos. xiii. 1.
¶ Hos. ii. 13.
** Hos. ii. 17.

"Baalim" and the "idols" mentioned here and there by Hosea.* Moreover, the unchaste worship of Baal which we have just mentioned is described by this prophet in the most unequivocal terms.† It would appear from his words that it was far from uncommon: "They sacrifice upon the tops of the mountains and burn incense upon the hills, under oaks and poplars and elms, because the shade thereof is good;"‡ there no doubt were those many altars and temples which Hosea mentions elsewhere.§

Side by side with the worship of false gods, there existed in Ephraim a Jahveh-worship, which is strongly condemned by Amos and Hosea, nay, is placed by the latter entirely upon a level with the service of false gods. It is the worship of Jahveh under the form of a young bull. Read how Hosea enlarges upon this in the prophecy already quoted above (p. 53),‖ and perhaps with equal force in these words:

"Because of the calf of Beth-aven shall the inhabitants of Samaria fear;
For the people shall mourn and the priests tremble over it,
For its glory, which shall be taken from them:
That calf also shall be carried to Asshur,
As a present to king Jareb:
Shame shall seize Ephraim,
Israel shall be ashamed of his counsel."¶

The solicitude of the Ephraimites for their image of Jahveh, which the prophet here describes, does not prevent him from putting this confession into their mouths in connection with it: "we have not feared Jahveh!"** For the worship of that image is indeed, in his estimation, the opposite to serving Jahveh, and an abomination in Jahveh's eyes. Like Amos,†† he calls *Beth-el* ("house of god"), one of the seats of that Jahveh-worship, *Beth-*

* Hos. iv. 17, xiv. 9, comp. xi. 2 ("graven images"). † Hos. iv. 12—14.
‡ Hos. iv. 13. § Hos. viii. 11, 14. ‖ Hos. viii. 4—6.
¶ Hos. x. 5, 6. ** Hos. x. 3. †† Am. v. 15.

aven ("house of evil").* The outrageous wickedness perpetrated there is drawing down destruction upon the people.† Hosea addresses to Judah an earnest exhortation not to go to Gilgal, not to go up to Beth-el.‡ Therefore it is probable that the same rites took place at Gilgal. How much Hosea detests them is evident also from that which Jahveh says through his mouth: "All their wickedness is at Gilgal; yea, there I hate them; for the wickedness of their deeds I will drive them out of mine house; I will love them no more; all their princes are revolters."§ In this respect there is no difference between the prophet of Ephraim and that of Judah:

"Go to Beth-el and transgress,
To Gilgal, and multiply your transgressions!"

So says Amos,‖ who, besides these two places, also mentions elsewhere Dan and Beer-sheba,¶ the first of which, Dan, is known as the seat of the bull-worship.**

Is it also possible to determine somewhat more precisely the way in which Jahveh was worshipped in those various sanctuaries? We can only guess at it. We might assume that noisy festivals and carousals were held in his honour, even were it not stated in so many words.†† But this is about all we know for certain. Hosea says once that the Israelites "sacrificed bullocks in Gilgal."‡‡ This expression, however, is so vague that the question arises whether his words have been transmitted to us in their original purity.§§ Yet there is one passage in his prophecies which we do not hesitate to connect at all events with the service of Jahveh at Beth-el. He reproaches the Ephraimites‖‖ with having worshipped Baal and then committed a fresh sin by "making them a molten image of their

* Hos. x. 5.
† Hos. x. 15.
‡ Hos. iv. 15.
§ Hos. ix. 15.
‖ Am. iv. 4, comp. iii. 4.
¶ Am. v. 5, viii. 14.
** 1 Kings xii. 26 seq.
†† Am. v. 23, viii. 3; Hos. ii. 11.
‡‡ Hos. xii. 11.
§§ Comp. Note III. at the end of this chapter.
‖‖ Hos. xiii. 2.

silver, images according to their understanding, all of them the work of craftsmen." He evidently* refers here to the images of Jahveh. When he proceeds: "they speak to them (or call upon them), *sacrificing men they kiss* (or pay homage to) *calves*"—we cannot help assuming that those who worshipped Jahveh in this shape also slaughtered men in his honour. If this testimony of Hosea stood alone, it would have perhaps to be interpreted differently. But it is confirmed from another quarter, as we shall discover further on. We are therefore inclined to see in those human sacrifices one of the chief reasons for which the prophets condemned so severely the Jahveh-worship of their contemporaries.

Probably there were also other reasons for that censure. That the temples and altars which were to be found in all those holy places were not all dedicated to Jahveh alone is no hazardous conjecture; it is extremely probable that other gods were worshipped there besides him. We have not a single reason for ascribing the exclusiveness which characterizes the prophets to their contemporaries as well. What was there to hinder the latter from putting the image of some other god side by side with that of Jahveh? Here and there allusion is actually made to a mixture of the various services. Thus Isaiah, for instance, with an eye to the kingdom of Ephraim, writes:

"In that day shall man look to his Maker,
And his eyes shall have respect to the Holy One of Israel;
And he shall not look to the altars, the work of his hands,
Neither shall respect that which his fingers have made,
The *Asheras* and the *Chammanîm*."†

The *asheras* (in the Authorized Translation, here and elsewhere, *groves*) are trunks of trees with the branches lopped off, emblems of the goddess Ashera, who represents the female side of the

* Comp. Hos. viii. 6. † Isa. xvii. 7, 8.

beneficent and fertilizing sun-god.* The *Chammanim* (sun-idols) probably had the form of a cone, and represented the rays of the sun; according to a later account,† which, however, appears to deserve credit, such images were placed above or upon the altars of Baal. ' If now we reflect that a century after Isaiah the planting or driving into the ground of an *ashera* next to the altar of Jahveh is expressly forbidden,‡ and therefore was certainly not unusual at that time, it does not seem hazardous to take the altars of which the prophet here speaks for Jahveh's altars, and to assume that the symbols of Baal and Ashera were to be found in their immediate vicinity. Hosea bears witness to yet another combination when he writes: "For the sons of Israel shall abide many days without a king and without a prince, without a sacrifice and without a *maççeba*, without an ephod and teraphim; afterward shall the sons of Israel return, and seek Jahveh their god, and David their king."§ The prophet evidently means that Jahveh will take away from the Israelites all that they now possess, in order to leave them entirely to themselves, and so to bring them to repentance. He altogether passes over the question as to whether their present religious ceremonies and usages do or do not merit approbation. He is as little partial to the "kings and princes" who ruled Israel in his days,‖ and whom he mentions here in the first place, as he has had occasion to be contented with the religious services to which he refers next. He simply means that the Israelites shall be deprived by Jahveh of all that they think it necessary to have in order to satisfy their religious wants; despoiled of all this, they shall learn to long for him, and, when the time comes, to seek—not their former practices, but—him. So there belonged to the Israelitish worship of that time in the first place *sacrifices*, which are spoken of here quite generally; then *maççebas*, that is, pillars or upright

* Comp. Note II. at the end of this chapter.
† 2 Chr. xxxiv. 4.
‡ Deut. xvi. 21.
§ Hos. iii. 4, 5.
‖ Comp. Hos. vii. 3, 5, viii. 4, xiii. 10, 11, perhaps also viii. 10.

stones, of which, according to another passage in Hosea,* there were very many in the land; we know from other quarters that they were used in the worship of the false gods, especially in that of Baal;† at the same time, it was natural that more than one significance should be attached to such stones, so that some people saw in them nothing more than memorials,‡ whilst others regarded them as the abodes of this or that deity; and finally, *ephod and teraphim*, which undoubtedly were mutually connected, as they are named together in other passages as well.§ At the same time it is very doubtful what they mean. *Teraphîm* —properly a plural, but also used, like Elohim,‖ for a single object—occurs also in Hosea's contemporary, Zechariah.¶ His words, or more properly the passages of the Old Testament which speak of "teraphim," taken together, give us the impression that by that name were indicated larger or smaller *images*, which were worshipped as household gods, upon the possession of which domestic happiness was considered to depend, and which it was customary to consult—how, we do not know—with regard to the future.** We think of this last use the more readily in Hosea, in that he makes mention elsewhere of the idolatrous practices which the Israelites employed in order to become acquainted with the future.†† But what is the *ephod*, which here precedes the teraphim? That name usually indicates the vestment worn upon his shoulders by the priest, not during the ordinary functions of worship, but when he consulted the deity; the objects of which he then made use, the so-called

* Hos. x. 1, 2; comp. 2 Kings xvii. 10.

† 2 Kings iii. 2, x. 26, 27, xvii. 10 (*maṣṣebas* and *asheras*); Mic. v. 13 (next after graven images, while the *asheras* follow in verse 14).

‡ This is the conception of the writers of Gen. xxviii. 18 seq., xxxi. 45, xxxv. 14; 2 Sam. xvii. 18; comp. Isa. xix. 19.

§ Judges xvii. 5, xviii. 14, comp. 17, 18, 20. ‖ Above, p. 41.

¶ Zech. x. 2.

** Comp. Gen. xxxi. 19, 34, 35; 1 Sam. xix. 13, 16; 2 Kings xxiii. 15; Ezek. xxi. 26; also 1 Sam. xv. 23, and the places referred to in note §.

†† Hos. iv. 12.

"urim and thummin," were probably preserved in or upon the ephod; consequently the idea of a *priestly oracle* attaches itself to this last word. The combination of ephod and teraphim is therefore justified by the simple fact that they were both used for the same purpose. But, besides this, it is possible, and even not improbable, that in the temples to Jahveh with which Hosea was acquainted, the place of the "urim and thummim" was occupied by two or more small images which were called teraphim.*—We have purposely dwelt somewhat more fully upon this passage in Hosea, because it gives us, in some measure at least, an idea of the way in which the various forms of worship existed side by side and were mixed up together. We have already seen† that the prophets frequently speak of the outward worship of Jahveh in a tone of censure. This unfavourable opinion must be partly explained by the character of those who participated in that worship, in connection with the strict moral demands uttered by the prophets in the name of Jahveh. But evidence such as that of Hosea—which is both confirmed and completed by other accounts—shows that the constitution of that Jahveh-worship must itself have been displeasing to the prophets, and, from their point of view, entirely justified their disapproval.

Upon turning from the kingdom of Ephraim to that of Judah, we find phenomena of the same kind. Amos himself says of his countrymen—we must remember that he belonged to Tekoa, a village in Judæa—that they "have despised the teaching of Jahveh and had not kept his commandments," and that "their *lies*, after the which their fathers walked, have caused them to err."‡ The false gods are called "lies" here, because they have no truth or reality. The prophet expresses himself in terms of so general a purport that we may not consider the worship of false gods a rare exception, even in Judah; nor, from what is said here about "the fathers," can it have first come into vogue

* Comp. Note IV. at the end of this chapter.

† Above, p. 57. ‡ Am. ii. 4.

shortly before the time of Amos. His evidence is the more remarkable, because it applies to the reign of Uzziah, who, according to the historical books,* "did that which was right in the eyes of Jahveh." He further informs us that at Beer-Sheba, a town in Judæa, there existed a form of Jahveh-worship which he was able to place upon the same level with "the sin of Samaria" and with the bull-worship at Dan.† We do not learn from him any further particulars regarding it. Hosea is still more sparing with his communications regarding the sister kingdom, which he probably could have observed only from a distance. Is this, perhaps, the reason why he evinces a certain predilection for Judah? He is not quite satisfied, however, as to her fidelity to Jahveh: he shows himself anxious lest Judah too should become guilty of Israel's sin and should take part in that Jahveh-worship at Gilgal and Beth-el, which, regarded from his standpoint, deserved such severe reprobation.‡

But it is chiefly Isaiah and Micah who appear as witnesses with regard to the kingdom of Judah. "Their land is filled with idols (*elilim*);§ they bow down before the work of their own hands, before that which their fingers have made:" thus Isaiah,‖ who is moreover firmly convinced that such abominations will not be left unpunished by Jahveh, and sees the day approach in which people, filled with fear of the terrible judgment, will hide themselves in caverns and clefts of the rocks and will throw away "the idols of silver and of gold."¶ These complaints were probably uttered in the reign of Ahaz, but that they do not refer to temporary abuses is evident from the fact that they are repeated almost unaltered in the time of Hezekiah.** At that time Micah also looked to the future for the removal of witchcrafts and soothsayers, the rooting out of the

* 2 Kings xv. 3; 2 Chr. xxvi. 4.
† Am. viii. 14.
‡ Hos. iv. 15.
§ Above, p. 52.
‖ Isa. ii. 8.
¶ Isa. ii. 19, 20.
** Isa. xxx. 22, xxxi. 7.

graven images and pillars (*maççebas*), before which men bowed in adoration, and the cutting down of the *asheras*.*

Meanwhile let it be borne in mind that in the kingdom of Judah also the images, pillars and *asheras* were not considered by those who worshipped them as antagonistic to the acknowledgment of Jahveh as the god of Israel, and therefore by no means excluded the worship of Jahveh. The same prophets whose complaints of the heathen practices of their countrymen we have just noticed, testify at the same time to the fact that Jahveh was universally honoured and served.† Thus it is very possible, and even probable, that some of those graven images, the use of which they deplored, were images of Jahveh. We are nowhere told that Jahveh was worshipped under any visible form in the temple at Jerusalem; it is much more likely that from the very beginning that temple was dedicated to the service of the invisible Jahveh. But the temple was not by any means the only place where Jahveh was worshipped. Throughout the country, especially on mountains and hills, the so-called *high places* (*bamoth*) were to be found. There Jahveh was worshipped, it is true, but usually, so far at least as we can discover, under that heathen form which was generally coupled with adoration of other gods besides him, and was most of all repugnant to the prophets on that account. Therefore it can very well have happened under the influence and at the instigation of Isaiah and those of his way of thinking, that—as the author of 2 Kings tells us‡—"Hezekiah removed the high places and brake the pillars and cut down the *asheras* and brake in pieces the brazen serpent that Moses had made; for unto those days the children of Israel had burned incense to that serpent, and it was called Nehushtan." There are one or two things in this passage, such as the account of the brazen serpent, which will be cleared up presently. In the sequel we shall revert more than once to

* Mic. v. 12—14. † Above, pp. 69 seq.
‡ 2 Kings xviii. 4; comp. 2 Chr. xxxi. 1.

this evidence. However, we can quite understand the main point already. That which Hezekiah tried to abolish by force was exactly that which the prophets of his century had zealously opposed. Unless we be mistaken, he was the first to attempt to carry out their demands. Of none of his predecessors, not even Uzziah and Jotham—although they "did that which was right in the sight of Jahveh"*—do we read that they tried to abolish "the high places," that is, the worship of Jahveh beyond the temple at Jerusalem; on the contrary, it is expressly asserted that the high places were *not* removed, and that the people still continued to sacrifice and to burn incense there.† So little was Ahaz an upholder of the exclusive worship of Jahveh, that he ordered a copy of an altar which he had seen at Damascus to be placed in the temple at Jerusalem, and caused the brazen altar which formerly stood there to be used for other purposes; on this occasion Urijah the priest proved to be the king's willing instrument.‡ Or, if it be thought that this proceeding was comparatively harmless, let it be remembered that the worship of Molech found a supporter in Ahaz, who did not recoil from "dedication by fire," that is, from slaying and burning his son in honour of Molech.§ The great significance of the fact that Hezekiah sided with the prophets is only rendered the more striking by this contrast. But we possess, besides, a trustworthy account, not exactly by a contemporary, but written by a well-informed historian, which bears witness to the deep impression made by Hezekiah's conduct. While Sennacherib, the Assyrian king, was encamped before Lachish with his army (711 B.C.), he sent some of his officers with a strong division of troops to Jerusalem to summon the city. It was all-important to him that he should be spared the trouble of a regular siege. One of his envoys, the chief of the royal cup-bearers (Rab-shakeh), attempted to convince the inhabitants of the capital that their residence would be

* 2 Kings xv. 3, 34.
† 2 Kings xv. 4, 35.
‡ 2 Kings xvi. 10—16.
§ 2 Kings xvi. 3.

in vain. In order to be understood by all, he made use of the Jewish language. We have now to do principally with one of the reasons which he adduced. The Israelites relied upon the help of Jahveh their god. Vain expectation! cries Rab-shakeh to them: "is that not he whose high places and whose altars Hezekiah hath taken away, and hath said to Judah and Jerusalem, Ye shall worship before this altar in Jerusalem?"* Here the Assyrian envoy is simply the mouthpiece of the discontented in the kingdom of Judah. The prohibition to sacrifice on the high places and altars must have been so novel and at the same time so scandalous in their eyes, that the king seemed to them to have forfeited thereby all claim to Jahveh's assistance. Nor are we then surprised that Hezekiah's plans were but partially successful. Although it is evident from the particulars just given, that his attempt at reformation preceded Sennacherib's invasion of Judæa, the prophecies of Isaiah, written at the time of that invasion, mention the worship of false gods, or, at least, image-worship.† It lay in the nature of the case that the king could at most abolish some very glaring heathen practices, and that the popular way of thinking and the household worship remained the same.

One more circumstance may not be left unnoticed here, where we have to determine the relation between the prophets' ideas and those of their time. We speak of "the prophets," and we mean by this the men whose writings have been preserved to us in the Old Testament. We shall be able to follow this use of the word without difficulty, if we only reflect that those men cannot by any means pass for representatives of the prophetic order in its entirety. Rather they occupied a hostile position towards the great majority of those who called themselves prophet (*nabi*) or seer (*roeh, chozeh*), and were looked upon as such by the people. It is at least remarkable that Amos, Hosea, and the rest of our witnesses, where they speak of the prophets, do

* 2 Kings xviii. 22; Isa. xxxvi. 7. † Isa. xxx. 22, xxxi. 7.

not describe them as of the same sentiments as themselves, or as coadjutors, but reckon them as the leaders of the people whom they consider themselves bound to oppose. Amos, although he announces that he has received a commission from Jahveh to prophesy to his people Israel, thinks it necessary to state expressly that "he is no prophet, neither a prophet's son (disciple),"* and therefore he decidedly does not regard that title as an honour. Hosea predicts that the prophet shall be punished with the people,† no doubt because he has sinned with them. Zechariah knows some among his contemporaries whom he calls "soothsayers," but who certainly passed for prophets; at all events they had visions and dreams, and came forward as comforters; but his opinion of them is very unfavourable: "the teraphim speak vain things, and the soothsayers see lies and tell false dreams; they comfort without ground."‡ Micah emphatically warns against "the prophets that make the people of Jahveh err, that, when their teeth have something to bite, cry Peace; but if any one put nothing into their mouths, they declare war against him." To them Jahveh says:

"Verily, it shall become night unto you, without a vision,
And darkness unto you, without soothsaying;
And the sun shall go down over the prophets,
And the day shall become dark unto them;
Then shall the seers be ashamed, and the soothsayers confounded,
And they shall all cover their lips,
For there is no answer of the deity."§

Elsewhere he declares that those who speak to the people of "wine and drink" can make sure of being universally applauded‖ —doubtless an indirect accusation against the seers, whose avarice and want of earnestness he reproves so sharply in the words just quoted. Nor does Isaiah spare the prophets. The

* Am. vii. 14, 15. † Hos. iv. 5. ‡ Zech. x. 2.
§ Mic. iii. 5—7. ‖ Mic. ii. 11.

prophet is among the fancied supports which Jahveh will take away in order that he alone may be acknowledged in his exaltation.* The prophets, as well as the priests, were guilty of intemperance; probably it is they especially who hold up the preaching of an Isaiah to ridicule, and who are therefore the first to be aimed at in his announcement of punishment.† When he wishes in another passage to sketch the antipathy of his contemporaries to the "teaching of Jahveh," he describes them in this way:

"Which say to the seers, See not,
And to the beholders of visions, Behold not for us right things;
Speak unto us smooth things, behold deceits;
Get you out of the way, turn aside out of the path;
Remove the Holy One of Israel out of our sight."‡

We surely are not mistaken in inferring from these words of Isaiah that such instigations as these were listened to by many of the seers. So long as people "hated in the gate him who rebuked, and abhorred him who spoke uprightly," as Amos complains,§ it was but natural that many, nay, even most of the prophets adopted a tone different from that of the austere preachers of repentance whose writings we possess.

At the same time it does not appear that the prophets against whom these complaints were raised spoke to the people in the name of other gods than Jahveh. It is true, they are called "soothsayers," and are mentioned in company with "the teraphim," but nothing more can be concluded from this than that they upheld that form of Jahvism to which the great majority of the people were also addicted. This supposition explains the success which they obtained, as well as the warfare which such men as Amos and Isaiah waged against them.

* Isa. iii. 2.
† Isa. xxviii. 7 seq.
‡ Isa. xxx. 10, 11.
§ Am. v. 10.

Although this sketch of *the religious condition of Israel during the eighth century B.C.* may be far from complete, its accuracy is guaranteed by the sources from which it is drawn, and the main points have not been omitted from it. Opportunities for completing and illustrating it will occur further on. Now, however, we will glance backwards. Considered quite by itself, a conflict such as that between the prophets and their countrymen is a remarkable phenomenon, of which we are anxious to learn the causes. But our interest is raised still higher, both by the peculiar excellence of many of the prophetic ideas and by their affinity with the popular notions, to which in other respects they are so directly opposed. In accordance with our plan, the following chapters are devoted to an investigation into the origin and earlier development of those religious conceptions which we have now studied in their mutual relations during the eighth century. First of all we will trace the previous fortunes of the people of Israel, so far as they throw light upon the state of things in that century.

NOTES.

I.—*See p.* 39, *n.* ‡.

A few remarks must be made here upon the prophets whose writings serve us as sources in Chapter I. Whenever a simple reference to the second volume of my *Historisch-kritisch onderzoek naar het ontstaan en de verzameling van de boeken des Ouden Verbonds* (Leyden, 1863, hereafter cited as *Hk. O.* II.), will suffice, I shall confine myself to it. This is the case with regard to Amos (*Hk. O.* II. 333—338), Hosea (ibid. pp. 311—323), the author of Zech. ix.—xi. (ibid. pp. 310—385), and Micah (ibid. 345—352). The book of Isaiah includes prophecies of different authors and various ages. To Isaiah, the son of Amoz, the con-

temporary of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, must be attributed chap. i.—xii., xiv. 24—32, xvii.—xx., xxi. 11—xxiii., xxviii.—xxxiii. (*Hk. O.* II. 56—84); chap. xv., xvi. (ibid. pp. 85—91) are of earlier date, but adopted by him; the historical chapters, xxxvi.—xxxix., are connected with his prophetic labours, but were not written till some time after his death (ibid. pp. 91—98); all the rest is of much later date (ibid. pp. 98—157).

Weighty arguments exist (*Hk. O.* II. 352—359) in support of the opinion that Nahum foretold the fall of Nineveh not long after Sennacherib's invasion of Judæa (711 B.C.). But there is also much to be said in favour of placing him a century later (635 B.C.). If Prof. G. Rawlinson (*The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World*, II. 474 sq.) be right in seeing in Nah. iii. 8—11 an allusion to the conquest of Thebes by Ezarhaddon (between 680 and 670 B.C.), then Nahum must decidedly be brought into the seventh century. But even though it be thought that no safe conclusions can be drawn from the boasts of the Assyrian kings, when they are not confirmed from other sources; even though it be considered, therefore, that the later origin of Nahum's prophecy is as yet unproved; yet my omission of it from my review of the state of things in the eighth century will be approved: too much depends upon the solidity of the foundation laid in Chapter I. to allow me to make use of doubtful materials in laying it. For the rest, Nahum furnishes comparatively little for our purpose. On p. 37, I might have referred to ch. i. 2, 6; on p. 54, to i. 3, 7; on p. 47, to i. 4, 5; on p. 70, to i. 15.

For similar reasons, no use at all has been made of Joel. According to *Hk. O.* II. 328—332, he prophesied in the ninth century, between the years 878 and 858 B.C. Yet *l. c.* (and especially p. 329, n. i.) a few phenomena were already pointed out, which may lead to our placing his lifetime later. At present, they leave me without sufficient confidence to bring him forward, either in Chapter I. as a witness for the eighth century, or in Chapter V. as a representative of the ninth cen-

tury. The comparison between his—elegant and generally fluent—style and that of the prophets who undoubtedly belong to the eighth century, also pleads for a less high antiquity. As early as the year 1864, when I lectured for the first time upon the history of the Israelitish religion, according to the method followed also in this work, I refrained, for the reasons here advanced, from appealing to Joel. The dissertations by Dr. H. Oort (*Godg. Bijdragen* for 1866, pp. 760—773), and by Hilgenfeld (*Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, IX. [1866] pp. 412—427), and especially the former, have confirmed me in the conviction that my doubts of the result at which I had formerly arrived were not unfounded.—For comparison, both with the ideas of the prophets of the eighth century, and with what I shall say hereafter in Chapter V. of the religious development during the ninth century, I will note here the following passages from Joel:—Ch. ii. 1, 32, iii. 5, 16, 17, 20, 21 (Jahveh dwells upon Zion); ch. i. 14, ii. 13, &c. (Jahveh the god of Israel); ch. ii. 27 (Jahveh the only god?); ch. ii. 30—32, iii. 1, 12 seq. (Jahveh's supremacy over nature and the nations); ch. i. 13, 14, ii. 14 seq. (high estimation of the temple-service); ch. i. 12, 13 (but much higher still of real penitence); ch. i. 13b (Jahveh's mercy and long-suffering). The resemblance between Joel iii. 16 and Am. i. 2 (above, pp. 40, 44) is also noteworthy, but the difference between these two passages is no less remarkable: does not the mention of "heaven and earth" in Joel, where Amos speaks of "the habitations of the shepherds and the top of Carmel," favour the conclusion that the former lived at a later period?

In reference to the rest of the literature of the eighth century, which is partly historical and partly poetical, see Chapters II. and V. We could not consult it as a source in Chapter I., partly because its age is not *quite* certain, and partly because it gives rather indirect than direct evidence of the religious ideas and practices which prevailed when it was written.

II.—*See p.* 72, *n* †; *p.* 76, *n.* [1]

The goddess Ashera, her worship and her relation to the other deities, will be mentioned more than once in the course of this history. Wide difference of opinion still exists on these points. It seems on that account advisable once for all to determine, and as briefly as possible to prove, some main facts.

1. The Old Testament knows *a goddess Ashera.* Whenever this word occurs, the authors of the authorized States-Version, following older translations, have rendered it by *grove,** *i.e.* holy wood, dedicated to the service of the false gods. What led them to this interpretation, will appear presently. That in some places at least it is not applicable, that here and there Ashera is used as the proper name of a goddess, is shown by Judges iii. 7 (where the Asheras stand next to the Baals or Baalim, the images of the goddess next to those of the god); 1 Kings xv. 13; 2 Chr. xv. 16 (the mother of Asa made *for* or in honour of *Ashera* "a hideous object," probably an image, which was cut down and burnt by Asa); 1 Kings xviii. 19 (where, besides the 450 prophets of Baal, 400 *prophets of Ashera* appear); 2 Kings xxi. 7, comp. xxiii. 6 (Manasseh makes a graven *image of Ashera* and places it in the temple of Jahveh at Jerusalem); 2 Kings xxiii. 7 (the women of Jerusalem wove *dwellings* [*i.e.* tent-curtains] *for* or in honour of *Ashera*).

2. Still more numerous are the passages in which *Ashera* is not a proper name, but indicates a holy object, especially a tree or tree-stem driven into the ground (Deut. xvi. 21), close to the altar of Baal (Judges vi. 25 sq., 28, 30), or also of Jahveh (Deut. xvi. 21). According to Exod. xxxiv. 13, Deut. vii. 5, xii. 3, such *asheras* were very numerous in Canaan, and the Israelites were commanded to hew them down and burn them with fire upon their arrival. Besides the passages already cited

* [In Dutch, *bosch.* The author's remarks here apply equally to the English Authorized Version as to the Dutch States-translation.—*Transl.*]

here, we find them mentioned in 1 Kings xiv. 15, 23, xvi. 33; 2 Kings xiii. 6, xvii. 10, 16, xviii. 4, xxi. 3, xxiii. 4, 6, 14, 15; 2 Chr. xiv. 3, xvii. 6, xix. 3, xxiv. 18, xxxi. 1, xxxiii. 3, 19, xxxiv. 3, 4, 7; Isa. xvii. 8, xxvii. 9; Jer. xvii. 2 (where we read that the men of Judah must constantly think of their transgressions, for their sons call to mind their altars and their *asheras* at the sight of a green tree and of high hills); Mic. v. 14.

3. There is nothing to wonder at in this twofold use of the word *ashera*. The ancients in general and the Israelites in particular made no distinction, or scarcely any, between the deity and its image or symbol. Thus nothing is more natural than that the name of the goddess Ashera should also have been given to the tree-stem which represents her. That such a transfer is actually made here, is evident above all from 2 Kings xxi. 3, 7, xxiii. 6, where the same object is obviously first called *ashera* and then "the image of Ashera." At the same time some doubt still remains here, because the meaning of "Ashera" is not quite certain. If this name be interpreted as *the fortunate one* or *the bringer of good fortune*, or as *companion* or *consort* (viz. of Baal), then the proper name of the goddess has actually been transferred to her symbol. But if it be translated as *the upright one*, then it must be held that *ashera* was originally the name of the tree-stem—stripped of its leaves and branches—and that this name of the symbol was afterwards given to the goddess herself. The choice between these two divergent explanations is difficult, but the uncertainty which results from this detracts nothing from the main fact, viz. that the word *ashera* indicates either the goddess herself or the symbol of the goddess.

4. There are no reasons for identifying Ashera with the goddess called *Ashtoreth* in the Old Testament, and *Astarte* by the Greeks; nor may we assume (with Bertheau, *Richter und Rut*, pp. 66 sq.) that *ashera* is the name of Astarte's symbol. It is true, the Ashtaroth (plural of Ashtoreth) are mentioned along with the Baalim in Judges ii. 13, x. 6; 1 Sam. vii. 4, xii. 10,

just as the Asheras are mentioned in Judges iii. 7, and Ashera with Baal in 1 Kings xviii. 19; 2 Kings xxiii. 4. But these passages are insufficient to support the identity of the two. The first four of these texts are presumably from one and the same hand (K. H. Graf, *die geschichtlichen Bücher des A. T.* pp. 97 sq.), and were not written until during or after the Babylonish exile. It is possible that their author made no distinction between the Astartes and the Asheras. But in that case we cannot agree with him. All other passages of the Old Testament tend to keep Ashtoreth and Ashera distinct. This is done by 1 Sam. xxxi. 10 (the Philistines put Saul's weapons in the temple of Ashtoreth—probably at Ascalon, where Herodotus, Lib. i. 105, was acquainted with a very famous sanctuary of Aphrodite Urania; see below under 5); 1 Kings xi. 5, 33; 2 Kings xxiii. 13 (Ashtoreth the deity, *i.e.* the chief deity, of the Zidonians; Solomon builds a temple to her near Jerusalem; if Ashtoreth had not been distinct from Ashera, and if her service had been widely spread in Israel as early as the period of the Judges, this account would certainly run differently). And besides this, if these two goddesses were identical, it would be very singular that Astarte is not once named in the tolerably numerous passages which mention Ashera and her symbol. It is evident that, in comparison with Ashera, Astarte was not really indigenous among the Israelites. We do not scruple, therefore, to give Judges iii. 7 the preference over Judges ii. 13, x. 6; 1 Sam. vii. 4, xii. 10, instead of understanding the two series as expressing the same thing. Our right to separate them will be still more apparent, should it appear that the two goddesses are not only distinct, but actually opposed to each other. This is really the case; for,

5. Astarte is the moon-goddess. The Old Testament furnishes but a single proof of this proposition, derived from the name of a city in the trans-Jordanic region, *Ashteroth-Karnaim, i.e.* Astarte of the two horns, the horned Astarte (Gen. xiv. 5; comp. Deut. i. 4; Josh. ix. 10, xii. 4, xiii. 12, 31; also Josh.

xxi. 27, to be corrected by 1 Chr. vi. 71; and further, 1 Chr. xi. 44). Even if Dr. A. Müller, in his treatise, *Astarte. Ein Beitrag zur Mythologie des orient. Alterthums* (Sitzungsberichte der Kais. Akad. der Wissenschaften. Philos. hist. Klasse. Bd. xxxvii. Heft i. pp. 1—44), be right in holding that the horns of Astarte mark her as *the strong, the mighty one*, and are rather borrowed from the bull, which is dedicated to her, than connected with the moon, yet, on the strength of other testimonies, also adduced by Müller, her character as moon-goddess is beyond question. She is a severe, chaste goddess, παρθένος Ἀστάρτη (Sanchoniathon, ed. *Orell.* p. 30), virginale numen (Augustinus, *de Civ. Dei*, ii. 26). The Greeks and Romans compare her both to Juno (so that, *e.g.*, Carthage is called the city of Juno, Virgil, *Æn.* i. 12 sqq.) and to Aphrodite Urania (Müller, p. 28, n. 5, 30). She does not essentially differ from the "Queen of heaven," of whose worship the prophet Jeremiah, chap. vii. 18, xliv. 15 seq., gives us important particulars. Among other things, he informs us that the Israelitish women, with the approval of their husbands, made vows to this goddess, and, with the help of their husbands and sons, burnt meal-cakes, presumably figures of the goddess, in her honour. That her worship was connected with unchastity or other excesses is directly contradicted by this testimony.

6. Ashera bears quite another character. M. Duncker (*Gesch. des Alterthums*, I. 346 seq., 3te Ausg.) and A. Müller (l. c. pp. 18 seq.) are right in giving their adhesion to that which Movers (*die Phönizier*, I. 560—584) has advanced concerning her. She does not differ from the Babylonian Mylitta (Herodotus, I. 199; Letter of Jeremiah, verses 42, 43), from Baaltis, who was worshipped at Byblos, from the Syrian goddess at Hierapolis. She is the female side of Baal, and is therefore also served along with him (Judges vi. 25 seq.; 2 Kings xxiii. 4). She is the ζῳογόνος θεά (Movers, p. 583). Her worship is of a sensual, unchaste character, as 2 Kings xxiii. 7 indicates, as well as that of Baal Peor, as appears from Num. xxv. 1 seq.

(comp. Deut iv. 3; Josh. xxii. 17; Hos. ix. 10). The Hebrew word *kedesha* (properly, *one that is dedicated, made holy*) denotes the priestess of Ashera; that she sold herself to the worshippers of the goddess is evident from Hos. iv. 14, Gen. xxxviii. 14 seq. (in verses 21, 22, *kedesha*). Besides her, Deut. xxiii. 18 mentions the *kadesh;* he was undoubtedly "dedicated" to the same deities, and also served them by selling himself. The Authorized Version renders this word by "sodomite" (Deut. l. c.; 1 Kings xiv. 24, xv. 12, xxii. 27; 2 Kings xxiii. 7; Job xxxvi. 14).

7. It is not without reason, therefore, that Am. ii. 7b (above, p. 72) is interpreted as an allusion to the Ashera-worship. That the goddess was still served under Jeroboam II. in the kingdom of Ephraim is evident, not only from Hos. iv. 13, 14, but also from 2 Kings xiii. 6, where we read that, at all events under the second king of the house of Jehu, Jehoahaz, "the *ashera*" (comp. 1 Kings xvi. 33) was still standing at Samaria. Perhaps Amos means this idolatrous object when he speaks in chap. viii. 14 of "the sin of Samaria," and perhaps he purposely chose the word "sin" (Hebr. *ashma*), because it agrees in sound with *ashera* (comp. Hitzig on this passage). Micah also seems to point specially to the service of Ashera when he says (chap. i. 7) that Samaria has "gathered" her idols and temple ornaments "from the hire of harlots," in other words, that they have been purchased or prepared out of the money paid to the *kedeshas*. At the same time, one might infer from the words of the prophet Amos ("a man and his father [*i.e.* son and father] go in unto the same damsel *to profane Jahveh's holy name*") that this "damsel" was regarded as in the service of Jahveh; without this, one could imagine, the prophet, on his higher standpoint, could not have called intercourse with her "profanation of Jahveh's holy name." In support of this interpretation one might appeal to Deut. xxiii. 18, in so far as *the prohibition* to "bring the hire of a whore and the price of a dog [*i.e.* the gains of the kadesh, ver. 17] into the temple of Jehovah for

any vow," implies *the existence of this custom;* in which case it is natural to assume that this impurity was practised in the worship of Jahveh, how much soever the lawgiver—as well as the prophet—abhors it. But it can be no more inferred from Am. ii. 7 than from Deut. xxiii. 18 that prostitution was an element of the Jahveh-worship itself. It is clear from 2 Kings xxiii. 7, that before Josiah's reformation Ashera was worshipped in the very temple of Jahveh—quite in harmony with the popular ideas, according to which the service of Jahveh could very well be associated with that of other gods. Thus there was nothing to hinder the kadesh and the kedesha from bringing their hire into the temple of Jahveh *in performance of some vow* (as it stands in Deut. l. c.). But this vow does not necessarily imply that they prostituted themselves in honour of Jahveh, and gave up to Jahveh the price that they received for doing so; in fact, the words of the lawgiver, if I read them aright, do not at all permit this interpretation. As regards Amos, he could designate the Ashera-worship, which was not only unchaste, but also led to such association of "father and son," as "profanation of Jahveh's holy name," because the people of Jahveh were guilty of it in the holy land consecrated to him (above, p. 40), and in opposition to his express commandment. The meaning of "profane" is illustrated by the use of the antithetical "sanctify" in Isaiah (above, p. 45). I should also interpret Lev. xviii. 21, xx. 2—5 (comp. Ezek. xxiii. 37—39) in a similar manner. But more concerning these passages in Chapter IV., where the subject of this note will again come under discussion.

III.—*See p.* 74, *n.* §§.

Attempts have been made in various ways to improve the text of Hos. xii. 11. Following in the footsteps of Jerome ("bobus immolantes"), some read, at "Gilgal they sacrifice *to the bulls*"—from which it would result, that the image of a bull was worshipped there, as well as at Dan and at Beth-el. But how, then, comes it to be in the plural? Why is another name substituted for the usual appellation of this image ("calf," "young bull") in this instance alone? Is it not very strange, moreover, that a word which occurs everywhere else in the Old Testament in the singular, is found in the plural form ("bulls") in this passage alone? For these reasons Hitzig (*die zwölf kleinen Propheten*, p. 55) reads, "at Gilgal they sacrifice *to the false gods* (*la-shedim*)," after Deut. xxxii. 17; Ps. cvi. 37. Against this, however, there is to be urged the fact that at Gilgal, according to Hos. iv. 15; Am. iv. 4, v. 5—where this place is mentioned with Beth-el and Beer-sheba—*Jahveh* was worshipped. We prefer to confess our ignorance as regards Hos. xii. 11. But can we not arrive by other means at certainty as to what took place at Gilgal? To this question Dozy, *de Israelieten te Mekka*, 112—145, gives an answer in the affirmative. In his acute demonstration two propositions can be distinguished: first, by "the Gilgal," *i.e.* by the round heap of stones between the Jordan and Jericho, the Israelites celebrated a military and religious festival, intended to recal the memory of the passage of the Jordan (Josh. iii. iv.), the taking of Jericho (Josh. vi.), and the events which succeeded it (Josh. vii. seq.); and secondly, that festival is the proper, original feast of the passover, *i.e.* the festival of the passing over (the Jordan), which in much later times, in and after the Babylonish exile, when it was combined with the feast of unleavened bread and adopted into the worship of Jahveh, lost its former character, and was brought into connection with the deliverance of the first-born of Israel at the

Exodus from Egypt. I am not surprised that de Goeje (*Gids*, 1864, ii. 297 sqq.) and Oort (*De dienst der Baälim in Israel*, pp. 5, 55) endorse at all events the first of these propositions: the combinations of the practices at the Meccan festival with Josh. iii. seq. are indeed extremely clever. But there still remain obstacles to this view, which I cannot surmount. If the Israelites really kept such a feast by the Gilgal for many centuries in succession, it may certainly be assumed *a priori* that evident traces of it have survived in the legal Jahveh-worship, and therefore in the Pentateuch. In other words, Dozy has been quite right in attempting to find again the Gilgal festival among the Israelitish festivals. In doing this, too, he has seen perfectly well that neither the feast of weeks nor the feast of ingathering can be regarded as a later transformation of the Gilgal-feast. Thus he had nothing left but the feast of the passover. But now, to my thinking, it must be deduced first from Deut. xvi. 1—8, 2 Kings xxiii. 21—23 (regarded as a later interpolation by Redslob and Dozy), Ezek. xlv. 21—24, that what we call the feast of the passover is older than the Babylonish Exile; while, secondly, upon an attentive consideration of the laws of that feast, it further becomes clear that it cannot possibly be a transformation of the feast at the Gilgal, assumed by Dozy. In this state of the case I cannot believe that the ceremonies of the feast at Mecca are borrowed from the Israelites, and that the latter used to observe them at the Gilgal. Besides this, it seems to me that the historical narrative in Josh. iii. seq. does not reproduce the historical truth so exactly as Dozy, in accordance with his hypothesis, must assume. In the course of our researches these points shall be handled and proved more fully. But where Gilgal was mentioned in Chapter I., I thought it necessary at once to give the reasons why I did not consider myself at liberty to make use of Dozy's discoveries.

IV.—*See p.* 78, *n.* *.

What I have maintained in the text regarding the ephod, the urim and thummim and the teraphim, requires further explanation, the more because it does not agree with customary ideas, and with some of the texts of the Old Testament.

According to Exod. xxv. 7, xxviii. 4 seq., xxix. 5, xxxv. 9, 27, xxxix. 2 seq., Lev. viii. 7—all which passages belong to the priestly legislation; comp. *Hk. O.* I. 84 sqq.—the ephod is a part of the dress of *the High Priest.* To this ephod is fastened *the breastplate of judgment,* or rather *of decision,* of which Exod. xxviii. 15 seq. gives a detailed description. In this breastplate, according to Exod. xxviii. 30, the urim and thummim must be placed or concealed, "in order that they may be upon Aaron's heart, when he goeth in before Jahveh's face;" in Lev. viii. 8, we read that this command was obeyed. In the description of the dress of the ordinary priest no mention is made of an ephod, much less of the urim and thummim.

As will be expressly shown hereafter, the priestly legislation, from which these regulations are borrowed, was not reduced into its present shape until after the Babylonish Exile, about the middle of the 5th century B.C. This does not prevent its precepts from often perfectly agreeing with much older customs and usages. But this agreement has to be shown in each particular case, may never be taken for granted *a priori,* and is often shown *a posteriori* to have no existence. We ought, therefore, expressly to examine whether the regulations concerning the ephod and the urim and thummim do or do not agree with the practices existing before the Exile. It at once strikes us as surprising that in Exod. xxviii. 30, *the* urim and thummim are mentioned, as if it were already known what was meant by them, although they have not yet been named at all (comp. Popper, *der bibl. Bericht über die Stifshütte,* p. 237, note to v. 30). The comparison between the priestly legislation on this point and the older, pre-exilic accounts, however, lead us

to more definite results. To the latter, however, I do not refer Num. xxvii. 21, which passage seems to me to belong to the priestly legislation (otherwise Graf, *die gesch. Bücher des A. T.*, p. 63). But there are other passages whose higher antiquity cannot be doubted, and which decidedly give a different account. For,

(1.) According to 1 Sam. ii. 18, xxii. 18, 2 Sam. vi. 14, 1 Chr. xv. 27, *a linen ephod* is the ordinary dress of the priests, or, still more generally, of the servants of the sanctuary.

(2.) It is true that in the sanctuary at Nob, in Saul's reign, there was one particular ephod, which is therefore called "the ephod" (1 Sam. xxi. 9), which Abiathar takes with him when he flees to David (1 Sam. xxiii. 6, where, however, the article is wanting), and of which he makes use to foretell the future to David (1 Sam. xxiii. 9, xxx. 7), in the same way that Ahiah had formerly employed the ephod in Saul's camp for that purpose (1 Sam. xiv. 3, 18, which, according to the Greek translation, is to be read: *And Saul said unto Ahiah, Bring hither the ephod. For he carried the ephod in those days before the children of Israel.* Comp. Thenius and Keil). But it does not appear that one priest, namely the High-priest, was always considered alone qualified to wear this particular ephod, or that its use was confined to the sanctuary and required that the priest should "go in before Jahveh's face" (Exod. xxviii. 30). Rather does Abiathar consider himself authorized at once to wear the ephod and makes use of it with good results. This harmonizes with the fact that, according to 1 Sam. ii. 28, the house or family to which Eli belongs is said to be chosen "to serve Jahveh as his priest, to offer upon his altar, to burn incense, *to wear an ephod before his face:*" this last prerogative stands here entirely upon the same footing as the other, general duties of the priests, and therefore, in the intention of the author, may not be limited to a single priest, namely the High-priest. The justness of this conclusion is placed above reasonable doubt by Deut. xxxiii. 8. But before this can be shown, another point must be handled.

(3.) From the passages just quoted it is evident that when the priest consulted Jahveh he made use of the ephod. In what way? We should in vain seek an answer to this question in the Old Testament; it might still be asserted—with Graf, l. c. —that the priestly lawgiver in Exod. xxviii. 30 had been wrong in regarding "the urim and the thummim" as material objects, and in closely connecting them with the ephod—if the Greek translator of 1 Sam. xiv. 41 had not preserved the original reading of that passage for us, and had not thus thrown the required light upon this obscure matter. After all that has been observed by Thenius and in our own country by D. E. G. Wolff (*Observatt. de textu masor. V. T. compar. cum vers. graec. alex.*, pp. 66—72) and Veth (*Het heilege lot*, in Evangelie-spiegel, 1863, pp. 367 sqq.) upon the Greek text in this passage, I can be brief. The Hebrew text—rendered more than freely in our Authorized Version—is utterly unintelligible, but originally it ran: "*And Saul said, Jahveh, god of Israel, why hast thou not answered thy servant this day? If the iniquity be in me or in Jonathan my son, Jahveh, god of Israel, then give urim* [then let the result be urim], *but if it be in thy people Israel, then give thummim.*" We need only read what follows in vs. 41 and 42, to convince ourselves that urim and thummim are two objects with which lots were cast, and to which—as is evident from Saul's words—a certain fixed meaning was given beforehand, in order to obtain a definite result: thus, in this particular instance, Saul and Jonathan were indicated by urim, and the people by thummim. See further, Veth, l. c. Now let it be borne in mind that according to 1 Sam. xiv. 18 (see above), Ahiah was in Saul's army with the ephod, and had already been once called upon by Saul; that therefore the expression, "then Saul asked God" (v. 37), without doubt indicates that the king again summoned Ahiah—and no one will refuse to subscribe to the deduction, that the urim and thummim formed or constituted the holy lots, and were consulted before Jahveh's face by the priest clad in the ephod.

(4.) In connection with this result, Deut. xxxiii. 8 is, now, very remarkable. With reference—not to Aaron and his race, but—to the tribe of Levi in its entirety, the poet, presumably a contemporary of Jeroboam II. (800 B.C.), there says to Jahveh:

"Thy thummim and thy urim are for the man, thy favoured one,
Whom thou hast proved at Massah, with whom thou hast striven by the waters of Meribah."

Vs. 9—11 prove convincingly that this refers to the Levites in general. Therefore the poet—as well as the writer of 1 Sam. ii. 28—attributes the prerogative of using the urim and the thummim, and thus also of wearing the ephod, to *the priest*—not to one single priest.

If we put all this together, it is clear that it was the priestly legislation which, in accordance—as we shall see hereafter—with its whole tendency, but at variance with history, assigned the ephod and the oracle connected with it to the High-priest. Before the exile they both belonged to the priests in general. In fact—as Land has correctly observed, *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, ii. 171—giving oracles is the priest's proper task; the very name which he bears (*kohen*) points to this.

In connection with this we now think it very natural that the Israelites, who instituted for themselves and their families a religious service of their own, with one or more priests attached to it, are said "to make an ephod:" the ephod and the oracle connected with it were in truth the chief element of such a worship. I do not hesitate then to interpret thus the account relating to Gideon, Judges viii. 27, and to Micah, Judges xvii. 5. It also deserves our attention that the Levite who is adopted by Micah as his priest (vs. 7 seq.), announces the will of the deity to the Danites at their request (Judges xviii. 5, 6); for this purpose he wore the ephod. The opinion of many commentators, that "ephod" in these passages of the book of Judges, and also in Hos. iii. 4, has another meaning and denotes a Jahveh-

image (overlaid with gold), perhaps in the shape of a bull, must decidedly be rejected. It is possible that such an image was used in Gideon's service, in the same way that a graven and a molten image appear along with the ephod in the present edition of Judges xvii., xviii. (see, however, Oort, *Theol. Tijdschrift*, i. 285 sqq.), but that image is not indicated by the word "ephod." It is very improbable that an expression so much in use should have been employed in a double sense, and, as our preceding investigation teaches us, it is absolutely unnecessary to attach any other meaning to it than that of "a garment worn by the priest upon his shoulders."

Now "ephod and teraphim," nevertheless, as we have already observed, p. 77, are named in close proximity in Hos. iii. 4, as well as in Judges xvii. 5, and in the sequel of this narrative. It is certainly very natural to connect this combination with that of the ephod and the urim and thummim to which we have referred. The practices in the various sanctuaries of Jahveh were by no means the same, but rather very divergent, at least in the time of the Judges, and also long afterwards. Thus there is nothing strange in the fact that *in one place* the teraphim were used for the purpose for which *in another* the urim and thummim were employed. Besides, it is not improbable that these latter were only used in the principal temple or temples—such as that at Shiloh—comp. below, Chapter V.—and not in the more private sanctuaries, where only a few families, the inhabitants of one town or one village, assembled. Here the teraphim, which belonged to the domestic worship (comp. Chapter IV.), were quite in their proper place. If we knew the form of the urim and thummim (comp. on this subject Keil, *Handb. der bibl. Archaeologie*, I. 169 sq.; Knobel, *Exod. und Levit.* p. 288 sq.), we should be in a better position to judge of this point: perhaps it would then be found that the difference in form between these objects and the teraphim was very slight, and of itself necessarily led to the substitution of the latter for the former.

CHAPTER II.

THE EARLIER FORTUNES OF THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL.

THE prophets of Jahveh who laboured among the Israelites in the eighth century before our era, appeal to history to prove that Jahveh really stands in an entirely peculiar relation to that people. "Jahveh, thy god from the land of Egypt:" in these words Hosea expresses a conviction which recurs in the other prophets.* Although here the exodus from Egypt is the starting-point, there are not wanting allusions to persons and events of a still earlier period, from which we may infer that the bond between Jahveh and Israel had already been formed at that time. When, for instance, Micah writes,

"Show faithfulness to *Jacob* and mercy to *Abraham*,
As thou hast sworn unto *our fathers* from the days of old;"†

then, in his opinion, the covenant between Jahveh and the Israelitish nation, which he also dates from the deliverance out of the house of bondage in Egypt,‡ must have been already prepared before. In this he does not stand alone: Isaiah too knows of Abraham,§ and Hosea gives particulars from the life of Jacob which he connects with the relation between Israel and Jahveh.‖

It will therefore be no arbitrary procedure if we try to make ourselves acquainted with the earlier history of Israel, in order to attain a certainty with regard to the worship of Jahveh in the eighth century B.C., its origin and its previous fortunes: in so doing we simply follow the road which our witnesses point out to us. And it is no superfluous task which we thus undertake. We are certainly not at liberty to accept, without

* Hos. xii. 9; Am. ii. 10, iii. 1, 2, &c.
† Mic. vii. 20.
‡ Mic. vi. 4.
§ Isa. xxix. 22.
‖ Hos. xii. 3—5.

111135

a deliberate examination, that which the historical books of the Old Testament tell us about the early centuries. Our introductory remarks prove that here keen and careful criticism is quite indispensable.*

But the prophets do more than show us the direction in which we must institute our search. They also afford us a firm starting-point. Of course it was not part of their plan to communicate or record in full their own ideas of Israel's past. They could take it for granted that their first hearers or readers were acquainted with them, and therefore they had no inducement to enlarge upon them. But still in passing they mention many particulars from the history of their nation in few—I had almost written, too few—words. When now we meet with those particulars again in the historical books of the Old Testament, it becomes, not indeed quite certain, but yet highly probable that the narratives in which they occur were already extant in the eighth century B.C. And conversely, we are inclined to suppose that the accounts which are not at all reconcilable with the prophets' allusions or hints, did not yet exist in their time. Most of these historical allusions will be spoken of purposely hereafter. Therefore they need not be enumerated or explained here. Let a few words from Micah serve us as an example.† "O my people"—says Jahveh, in his prophecies—"what have I done unto thee, and wherein have I wearied thee? Testify against me. For I brought thee up out of Egypt, and redeemed thee out of the house of slaves, and sent before thee Moses, Aaron and Miriam. O my people, remember now the plan which Balak king of Moab devised, and what Balaam the son of Beor answered him; (remember what happened) from Shittim unto Gilgal, that ye may know the righteous deeds of Jahveh." We remark at once that Aaron and Miriam also appear here, alongside of Moses, associates in the same way as in some of the narratives of Exodus and Numbers. But especially worthy of notice is the reference

* Above, pp. 16—27. † Mic. vi. 3, 4.

to the history of Balaam, Num. xxii.—xxiv., of which detailed account just the main facts are introduced. And finally, it does not escape our notice that Shittim is also mentioned in the Pentateuch as a camp of the Israelites and as the scene of a divine judgment,* while in the book of Joshua Gilgal is the first fixed point which Israel occupies on this side of the Jordan.† We must therefore assume that Micah had upon the whole the same idea of Israel's wanderings in the desert, of the events which occurred beyond the Jordan, and of the march into Canaan, as are contained in the narratives which we have indicated from the Old Testament. We must even suppose that he was acquainted with those narratives—unless appearances should tend to show that they were written or modified at a later date.

In fixing the presumable age of the historical narratives, we shall not, of course, make use exclusively of the evidence or hints contained in the prophets. We shall also observe the mutual connection of those narratives, and so arrive, by means of a prophetic utterance referring to but one account, at certainty, or at least high probability, with respect to a whole series or group. By a careful study of the contents and the form, the language and the style of the narratives, those results will be rendered either more definite or more ample and complete.

What now do we obtain by following this course? Do we arrive at the certainty of which we are in search with regard to Israel's former history? To begin with, we obtain nothing but *the idea which was entertained of that history in the eighth century* B.C. That idea can be right or wrong, can correspond entirely, or partially, or not at all, with the historical reality. This point will stand over for further examination. But it is no small thing to be able to say at once that we can start from accounts which comparatively are so old. By putting aside the more and most recent narratives, many erroneous ideas are at

* Num. xxv. 1 seq.; comp. Josh. ii. 1, iii. 1. † Josh. iv. 19.

once cut off. We are still exposed to the risk of error, but the limits within which we can err are now much narrower than they were before.

Besides this, and quite independently of the service which it renders us in prosecuting our investigations, the idea of Israel's past entertained in the eighth century is undoubtedly of great importance to us; for it serves to complete the sketch of religious opinion during that century which has been presented in the first Chapter. Every conviction as to Israel's history was not at the same time an essential part of the religious belief of the Israelites, but still the connection between the two was very close. In any case our insight into the religious ideas of the prophets cannot but gain by our knowing as precisely as possible what those men thought of the earlier fortunes of their nation. The more we know of them in respect also of their views of the past, the purer will be our conception of their religion.

The foregoing remarks show us the path to be followed in this Chapter. On the main points in Israel's history down to the eighth century, we shall *first* give the accounts which can be considered to have been known to the prophets of that century; and *then* we shall endeavour to reduce them to the historical truth. As a knowledge of the principal facts is all that we require for our purpose, we can undertake this task in the hope of a successful result.

The Israelites believe firmly that they have not always dwelt in Canaan: they have migrated thither out of Egypt; and even there they were not natives, but visitors; their real mother-country lay elsewhere. Where was it then? and what brought them to Egypt? These are the questions which we shall try to answer first of all.

As early as the eighth century B.C., Israel carried its pedigree back to *Abraham*. He dwelt—so it was related—as a powerful shepherd-prince, many centuries before, in Ur of the Chaldees.

But at the divine command he had journeyed thence.* "Get thee out of thy country and from thy kindred and from thy father's house, unto the land which I will show thee:" thus had Jahveh spoken to him, and at the same time had annexed to his command most splendid promises.† Abraham obeyed, and departed with Sarah his wife and Lot his nephew. Canaan was the land of his destination. There, regarded in a friendly manner by the natives, but not mixing with them, he wandered about with his numerous dependants and his herds, principally in those districts which were afterwards inhabited by the tribe of Judah. Before long, a separation took place between him and Lot, who settled with his family in Sodom,‡ and having been saved by the intervention of Jahveh at the destruction of that city,§ became the ancestor of the tribes of Ammon and Moab, "the sons of Lot."‖ In the meantime Abraham remained childless and began to despair of the fulfilment of Jahveh's promise that his posterity should one day possess the whole of Canaan.¶ But that promise was constantly renewed, even after the Egyptian slave Hagar had borne him a son, Ishmael, whom therefore he could not regard as the promised heir.** At length Sarah became the mother of a son who received the name of Isaac,†† and before whom Hagar and Ishmael soon had to retire.‡‡ After his mother's death, Isaac, in conformity with Abraham's instructions, married Rebekah, the daughter of Bethuel and sister of Laban, descended from the race to which Abraham himself belonged, and which was then established in Haran.§§ Abraham now leaves the stage of history,‖‖ but the

* Gen. xv. 7, while according to Gen. xi. 31, 32, xii. 4, 5, it was Abraham's father, Terah, who migrated to Haran.

† Gen. xii. 1—3.

‡ Gen. xiii. 1—13.

§ Gen. xviii. 1, xix. 28; comp. Am. iv. 11; Hos. xi. 8; Isa. i. 9, iii. 9.

‖ Gen. xix. 30—38 is probably of later date. But also in Deut. ii. 9, 19 (and Ps. lxxxiii. 8), the Moabites and Ammonites are called descendants of Lot.

¶ Gen. xii. 7, xiii. 14 seq., &c.

** Gen. xvi., xviii. 9 seq.

†† Gen. xxi. 1—3.

‡‡ Gen. xxi. 9—21.

§§ Gen. xxiv.

‖‖ Gen. xxv. 8 seq.

care with which Jahveh has watched over him is transferred to Isaac, the son of the promise. His prayer was heard, and after a long period of barrenness, Rebekah presented him with two sons, Esau and Jacob,* whose opposite temperaments were revealed more and more as they grew up. The elder of the twin brothers, Esau, was rough and honest, a great hunter; Jacob was meek and cunning, of much experience in cattle-breeding.† Even before their birth it was foretold to Rebekah that the elder should be less richly blessed than Jacob, and should serve the latter.‡ Jacob actually succeeded in becoming master of the right of the first-born; first he bought it from Esau, at a time when the latter was in distress,§ and afterwards managed, with his mother's help, to make his aged father bless him instead of Esau.‖ This latter act roused Esau's anger, so that Jacob had to resolve to place himself in safety by flight.¶ In accordance with his parents' wishes, he went to Haran to seek a wife among the relations of Rebekah. Laban her brother took him into his house, entrusted him with the care of his flocks, and gave him his two daughters, Leah and Rachel, in marriage.** Their handmaidens, Bilhah and Zilpah, also bore him children. Jacob passed twenty years in Haran.†† At the end of this period he was able to return to Canaan and the house of his ancestors, as father of a numerous family—eleven sons and one daughter—and as a very powerful shepherd-prince. It was on the journey thither that his name Jacob was changed by Jahveh to that of *Israel*.‡‡ Immediately after this he had an interview with Esau, which, however, terminated amicably. Subsequently also the two brothers remained separated. Esau had already settled on Mount Seir and became the progenitor of the Edomites; Jacob pursued his wandering life in Canaan.

* Gen. xxv. 21 seq.; comp. Deut. ii. 4, 8; Am. i. 11.
† Gen. xxv. 27.
‡ Gen. xxv. 22, 23; comp. Hos. xii. 3 a.
§ Gen. xxv. 29—34.
‖ Gen. xxvii.
¶ Comp. Hos. xii. 12 a.
** Comp. Hos. xii. 12 b.
†† Gen. xxxi. 38.
‡‡ Gen. xxxii. 23—32; comp. Hos. xii. 3 b, 4.

There Rachel died in giving birth to her second child, Benjamin, the youngest of Jacob's sons.* It seemed as if the family would stay permanently in Canaan and gradually settle down there. But Jahveh had disposed otherwise, and had already made known his decision to Abraham.† Joseph, Rachel's eldest son, was his father's favourite, and was therefore an object of envy to his brothers. They seized an opportunity which presented itself, and sold him as a slave to a caravan which was journeying to Egypt.‡ There Joseph met with ill-treatment, but only to rise before long to the highest post of honour at Pharaoh's court. A famine which afflicted Egypt for seven consecutive years, was foretold by him, but at the same time was rendered harmless by the wise measures which he proposed to the king, and was actually made use of to extend Pharaoh's power. The same famine was also the cause of Israel's removal to Egypt. When his sons appeared before Joseph to buy corn from him, they were immediately recognized, were put to the test in more ways than one, and at last, after he had made himself known to them, were sent back to Canaan to fetch thence Jacob and all his family to Egypt. Israel and his household set out on their journey, numbering seventy men,§ besides women and children. At Joseph's request, Pharaoh allotted them as a dwelling-place the land of Goshen, a district on the north-eastern border of Egypt.‖ There, in a country eminently adapted for the rearing of cattle, they still continued their old life, even after Jacob and Joseph had died.

The above is the tradition as to the chief features of the most ancient or patriarchal period: it was not necessary here to recall the details to memory; every one knows them, and will, as it were, involuntarily complete our dry sketch from the charming pictures which are so numerous in Genesis. Now, what judgment are we to form of all these narratives? May we

* Gen. xxxv. 16—20.
† Gen. xv. 13 seq.
‡ Gen. xxxvii. 25—27, 28 b.
§ Gen. xlvi. 27 b; comp. Deut. x. 22.
‖ Gen. xlvii. 6, 11.

regard the whole of them, or at least the principal facts in them, as pure history?

The obstacles to this course are insurmountable. Were it necessary, we could point to a number of particulars, of greater or less importance, which cannot possibly pass for history. Thus, to name some instances, we find the origin of one and the same name explained in various ways,* or one and the same event related more than once with discrepancies of detail.† But it seems superfluous to dwell long upon this. There are objections of a more general nature, which may be said to be decisive. They are taken, *in the first place*, from the religious ideas which are ascribed to the patriarchs. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, are not only servants of Jahveh, but are also not inferior to the prophets of the eighth century B.C. in pureness of religious insight and inward spiritual piety. I must crave permission to assume here provisionally, what will be proved further on, that this representation is utterly without foundation in history. Then, *in the second place*, if we look upon the narratives of the patriarchal age as history, we find ourselves involved in insoluble chronological difficulties. Most of the statements concerning the age of the patriarchs, the length of their sojourn in Canaan, and of that of the descendants of Jacob in Goshen, are of later date than the eighth century, the historical views of which we are now using as a starting-point. But we may assert that, even in that century, the interval between Abraham's arrival in Canaan and the exodus from Egypt was computed at six centuries, if indeed it was not reckoned at only four hundred years.‡ Now, consider what this involves. Within this comparatively short time, all those nations and tribes which are traced back to Abraham and Lot must have arisen; besides the Israelites themselves, we have the Edomites, the Ammonites

* Comp. Gen. xxi. 31 with xxvi. 32, 33; Gen. xxviii. 10—19 with xxxv. 15; Gen. xxxii. 25—33 with xxxv. 10.

† Comp. Gen. xii. 10—20 with xx. 1—18; Gen. xxi. 22—34 with xxvi. 26—34.

‡ Gen. xv. 13—16. Comp. Note I. at the end of this Chapter.

and Moabites, and the Ishmaelites, not to mention "the sons of Keturah."* Who does not perceive that this is an absurdity? —The familiar intercourse of the deity with the patriarchs is a *third* objection to the historical character of the narratives. Among most of the nations of antiquity we find the belief that many centuries ago the inhabitants of heaven have associated with dwellers upon earth.† We are not in the habit of accepting as history the legends and myths which afford evidence of that belief. Should we then be justified in making an exception in the case of the Israelites, and in considering their narratives of ancient times to be literally true, although they show the same characteristics?

But we have not yet named the principal cause of hesitation. It is weighty enough to detain us somewhat longer. We will begin by remarking that the persons who appear as actors in the narratives of Genesis have one characteristic in common—they are all *progenitors of tribes*. Jacob-Israel is the ancestor of the Israelitish nation, which was named after him, and the twelve divisions or tribes of which are represented by an equal number of sons of Jacob. Esau is the forefather of the tribe of the Edomites. The close relationship between the latter and the Israelites is to be explained, according to the book of Genesis, by the fact that their fathers were twin brothers, born of the marriage between Rebekah and Isaac: so the latter is the father of the tribes of Edom and Israel. His father Abraham is further, by his marriage with Hagar, the ancestor of the Ishmaelites; in one account, which however seems to be more recent than the eighth century B.C., other Arabian tribes as well, among others the Midianites, are derived from him and Keturah his concubine.‡ And finally, Lot, the son of Abraham's brother, is the progenitor of the tribes of the Ammonites and Moabites. We may notice in passing, that in the spirit of the narratives of

* Gen. xxv. 1—4.

† Comp. Gen. xv. 5 seq., xviii., xix., xxxii. 24—33, &c.

‡ Gen. xxv. 1—4.

Genesis, we can thus call all the nations mentioned here *Terahites*, after Abraham's father Terah,* from whom they are one and all descended.

All this is indisputable, but what evidence does it furnish for or against the credibility of the traditions concerning the patriarchal times? It contains the proof that the narratives of Genesis are founded upon a theory of the origin of nations which the historical science of the present day rejects without the slightest hesitation. Indeed, we know from other sources that the Israelites—and not they alone—looked upon nations or tribes as families, or large households. This view shows itself in their idiom, in such expressions as "the house of Israel," "the sons of Edom," and so many others. The further they carried their thoughts back, the smaller to their ideas became the family, until at last they came upon the father of the tribe or of the whole nation, to whom, very naturally, they ascribed the same qualities as they had observed in the descendants. The Israelites were so accustomed to this (genealogical) view of nations and tribes, it had become to them a necessity or second nature to such a degree, that in many of the pedigrees in the Old Testament, districts and towns are included as though they were persons.† It is quite certain, however, that although it is not entirely supposititious, this theory of the origin of nations is not the true one. Families become tribes, and eventually nations, not only, nor even chiefly, by multiplying, but also, nay principally, by combination with the inhabitants of some district, by the subjection of the weaker to the stronger, by the gradual blending together of sometimes very heterogeneous elements. Whenever we can follow the formation and extension of a nation at all in detail, we see these and similar causes working to the same end simultaneously or consecutively. For instance, the Israelitish nation which was governed by David consisted but partially of the descendants of those men who

* Gen. xi. 24 seq.

† A few examples of this are given in Note IV. at the end of this Chapter.

some centuries before had penetrated into Canaan under Joshua; to the latter, many from among the original inhabitants, and especially from the nomadic tribes which wandered about in Canaan at the time of the conquest, had attached themselves. In the first book of Chronicles, and even to a certain extent in the Pentateuch, the (supposed) fathers of these races, which subsequently joined or were absorbed among the invaders, are made out to be descendants of Jacob's sons.* In this case we can point out at once how the genealogy has been produced. But there is no doubt that the idea of Jacob the father, with his twelve sons, arose in the same manner. The "sons of Israel" who penetrated into Canaan under Joshua formed a union or bond of twelve kindred tribes. For the present we will pass over the question how that bond had originated. Once in existence, it led to the idea that the twelve tribes—just as each separately had sprung from one father—were collectively children of one ancestor. The tribes who felt themselves to be still more closely related to each other than to the rest became, sons of one mother—for example, Joseph (= Ephraim and Manasseh) and Benjamin, sons of Rachel. Others, whose extraction was looked upon as less pure or noble, Dan, Naphthali, Gad, Asher, were called children of Bilhah and Zilpah, slaves to the lawful wives, Leah and Rachel. In short, the tribes were regarded and treated as individuals, and were transferred to the house of their common father in the same mutual relation in which they actually stood to each other. It naturally costs some trouble to accustom oneself to the idea that the narratives of Genesis present us, not with real, historical personages, but with personifications. But if one is once convinced that they cannot be interpreted in any other way, a new light is thrown not only upon the patriarchal history in its entirety, but also upon many a particular which now seems unimportant or quite inexplicable.

Of course we do not hesitate to apply also to the rest of the

* Comp. again Note IV. at the end of this Chapter.

patriarchs the interpretation which we have proposed for Jacob and his sons. As *progenitors of tribes*—and it is in this character that they appear in Genesis—they too are not persons, but personifications. If the relation between the Israelites and the Edomites was exceptionally close — Amos already calls Israel Edom's brother, and condemns their enmity as strife between brothers*—then it was necessary that the progenitors of these tribes should be brothers, nay, actually twin brothers. If it was a fact that the Edomites inhabited Mount Seir before the Israelites made themselves masters of Canaan, if they were already governed by kings "before there was yet a king in Israel"†—then Esau ("who is Edom"‡) had to be the elder of the twins, although, in *Israelitish* legends, the right of the first-born could not be left to him. The part which Isaac plays in tradition is very insignificant; he serves scarcely any other purpose than that of representing the unity of Edom and Israel. Abraham, on the contrary, is portrayed with great predilection. We shall revert to the description of his character and his piety in another connection. Here we have to point out that he is pre-eminently the progenitor of tribes. Besides the sons of Isaac, the Ishmaelites, a great and numerous people, divided like the Israelites into twelve tribes,§ have sprung from him; and besides these, according to a narrative of later date, twelve or thirteen other Arabian tribes in addition, among which are the Midianites and Dedanites:‖ their mother is called Keturah, "incense," because those Arabians lived in the land of incense. It now no longer surprises us that some stain or other attaches to the birth of all these sons of Abraham, that the mother of the Ishmaelites is called a slave, and Keturah Abraham's concubine: the genealogical conception was formed among the Israelites, and naturally tended to Israel's glorifica-

* Am. i. 11.

† Gen. xxxvi. 31.

‡ Gen. xxxvi. 1, 8, 19, 43, comp. xxv. 25, 30, where allusion is twice made to the meaning of the name Edom ("red").

§ Gen. xxv. 12—16.

‖ Gen. xxv. 1—4.

tion.* Nor do we wonder at the long barrenness, first of Sarah, and then of Rebekah: it was necessary that, humanly speaking, the time for their becoming mothers should first have passed, in order that it might be evident that the birth of Isaac, and afterwards of Esau and Jacob, was a miracle from Jahveh, a sign of his intervention at the first formation of the nation which was destined to know and to serve him.

Of course, in the abstract, it is possible that such persons as Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob should have existed. One can imagine that such and such incidents in the accounts regarding them really took place, and were handed down by tradition. What, for example, should hinder us from assuming that some centuries before Israel settled in Canaan, a mighty shepherd-prince named Abraham had set up his tents near Hebron, and had formed a league with the people who inhabited the land at that time? Why should there be no historical fact at the foundation of the threefold tradition of the violation of Abraham's or Isaac's wife?† But our present investigation does not concern the question whether there existed men of those names, but *whether the progenitors of Israel and of the neighbouring nations* who are represented *in Genesis, are historical personages.* It is this question which we answer in the negative.

Must we then deny all historical value to the narratives of the patriarchs? By no means. What we have to do is to make proper use of them. They teach us what the Israelites thought as to their affinities with the tribes around them, and as to the manner of their own settlement in the land of their abode. If we strip them of their genealogical form, and at the same time take into consideration the influence which Israel's self-love must have exercised over the representation of relationships and facts, we have an historical kernel left. It is true that by this means we arrive only at general, and more or less indefinite, results. And, what is more, some of the features

* Gen. xxv. 5, 6. † Gen. xii. 10—20, xx. 1—18, xxvi. 1—11.

of tradition can, without forcing, be reduced to historical reality in more than one way, so that it remains doubtful on what they are actually founded. Therefore, the wish that we could be better informed is not unnatural. But let not this deter us from accepting thankfully the little which is offered to us.

The narratives in Genesis, viewed and used in this way, lead us to the following conception of Israel's early history. Canaan was originally inhabited by a number of tribes*—of Semitic origin, as we shall perceive presently—who applied themselves to the rearing of cattle, to agriculture, or to commerce, according to the nature of the districts in which they were established. The countries which were subsequently named after Edom, Ammon and Moab, also had their aboriginal inhabitants, the Horites,† the Zamzummites,‡ and the Emites.§ Whilst all these tribes retained possession of their dwelling-places, and the inhabitants of Canaan especially had reached a tolerably high stage of civilization and development, there occurred a Semitic migration, which issued from Arrapachitis (Arphacsad, Ur Casdim),‖ and moved on in a south-westerly direction. The countries to the east and the south of Canaan were gradually occupied by these intruders, the former inhabitants being either expelled or subjugated; Ammon, Moab, Ishmael, and Edom became the ruling nations in those districts. In Canaan the situation was different. The tribes which—at first closely connected with the Edomites, but afterwards separated from them—had turned their steps towards Canaan, did not find themselves strong enough either to drive out, or to exact tribute from, the original inhabitants; they continued their wandering life among them, and lived upon the whole at peace with them. But a real

* Gen. xv. 19—21, comp. xii. 6, xiii. 7, xxiii. 3 seq.

† Deut. ii. 12, 22; comp. Gen. xxxvi. 20—30. ‡ Deut. ii. 20, 21.

§ Deut. ii. 10, 11.

‖ Gen. x. 22, 24, xi. 10 seq., 28, 31. Arphacsad (=Arph-casd) is evidently connected with Ur-casdim (=Avr-casd-im), as "Ur of the Chaldees" is called in the original.

settlement was still their aim. When, therefore, they had become more numerous and powerful, through the arrival of a number of kindred settlers from Mesopotamia—represented in tradition by the army with which Jacob returns to Canaan —they resumed their march in the same south-westerly direction, until at length they took possession of fixed habitations in the land of Goshen, on the borders of Egypt. It is not impossible that a single tribe had preceded them thither, and that they undertook the journey to Goshen at the solicitation of that forerunner: this would then be the kernel of the narratives relating to Joseph and his exertions in favour of his brethren.

We will now resume the thread of the Old Testament narrative. The accounts of the sojourn of Jacob's posterity in Goshen are very brief. After the death of Joseph and his contemporaries, the children of Israel increased in numbers and strength. When therefore a new Egyptian king, who had not known Joseph, was seated on the throne, he and his people resolved to clip the wings of Israel's independence, and thus to avert the danger which threatened Egypt from that quarter. He compels them to make bricks and to build with them two cities, Pithom and Ramses, which, when once finished, will keep the surrounding Israelites in subjection. He did not stop at these measures. At the king's command, all children of the male sex are drowned in the river immediately after their birth. Israel's annihilation seems at hand.* But just at this point Jahveh takes pity upon them. A son of Amram and Jochebed is kept alive, in spite of the king's order, is subsequently exposed in the Nile, and is adopted and reared by the king's daughter. When he, Moses, has reached the age of manhood, he sides with those of his own tribe, and kills the Egyptian who ill-treats them. After this bold deed, he considers himself no longer safe

* Exod. i.

in Egypt, and flees to Midian, where he marries the daughter of Reguel or Jethro the priest, and tends his father-in-law's flocks for "many days."* At the end of that period a divine revelation is made to him. Out of the burning bush† he hears the voice of the god of Israel: at his command he is to return to Egypt and free his people from bondage. It is only after long hesitation that Moses accepts this important and difficult task.‡ With his elder brother Aaron he appears before Pharaoh, and asks permission for his people to celebrate a religious festival in the desert. Pharaoh refuses. A struggle then begins between him and the two envoys of the god of Israel. Egypt is afflicted with frightful plagues; each time Pharaoh seems ready to yield; but the calamity is scarcely averted before he shows himself to be as obstinate as ever.§ At last, however, he has to submit. It was when the tenth plague fell upon him and his people; in one night all the first-born of man and beast in Egypt were slain. So great is the terror caused by this, that the Israelites are compelled to depart at once. They quit the land of slavery in all haste.‖ They take the road to the Sinaitic desert. But before they reach it, they pass through great danger. Pharaoh repents his weakness, and determines to pursue the fugitives and force them to come back. He is already at their heels, and all chance of their escape seems cut off. But now, at Moses' command, the waters of the Red Sea open to let the Israelites, and all that belongs to them, pass through; they reach the opposite side dryshod; the Egyptians continue the pursuit, but only to meet their death from the return of the waters.¶ Saved from the danger which threatened them, and free henceforward from all fear of the Egyptians, the Israelites, with Moses and his sister Miriam at their head, sing in elevated

* Exod. ii.

† Comp. Deut. xxxiii. 16 (an allusion to Exod. iii. 2 seq.).

‡ Exod. iii. iv.

§ Exod. v.—x.

‖ Exod. xi., xii. 29—39; comp. Deut. xvi. 3.

¶ Exod. xiii. xiv.

strains the praise of Jahveh, who has helped his people and destroyed the enemy:

"Sing unto Jahveh, for he is highly exalted:
The horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea."*

Here we will again pause for a few moments. The passage through the Red Sea is not only the finishing stroke to Israel's deliverance from bondage, but is at the same time the transition to a new epoch in its history. The nomads have cast off the yoke of slavery, and resumed their former mode of life. We shall see still more plainly further on that the wanderings in the desert must be viewed in this light, and not simply as preparatory to the settlement of the Israelites in Canaan. But we do not wish to anticipate our subsequent investigations, and at present we will merely ask what idea we have to form of the sojourn in Goshen and of the exodus.

We may not doubt that the exodus is an historical fact. Independently of the Pentateuch and of the book of Joshua, it is proved by the testimony of the prophets.† They obviously start from the supposition that none of their contemporaries disagree with them as to the deliverance out of Egypt. This would be inexplicable, if the Israelites had not really dwelt in Egypt, and escaped from Pharaoh's control before they settled in Canaan.

In the first place, therefore, we must attempt to fix, at all events approximately, the date of the exodus. The Old Testament determines this with an appearance of exactness: when Solomon began to build the temple at Jerusalem, in the third year of his reign, 480 years had elapsed since the deliverance out of Egypt.‡ But then we do not know for certain when

* Exod. xv. 1—21.

† Comp. Am. ii. 10, iii. 1, v. 25, 26, ix. 7; Hos. ii. 3, 15, viii. 13, ix. 3, xi. 1, xii. 9, 13, xiii. 4, 5; Isa. xi. 16; Mic. vi. 4, 5, vii. 15. These references are quite as numerous in the younger prophets.

‡ 1 Kings vi. 1.

this calculation was made, and upon what it was founded. If it dated from Solomon's time, we should not indeed regard it as entirely trustworthy, but yet we should look with suspicion upon any important deviation from it. But there is no doubt that it is much more recent. Besides this, we must remember both that 480 (12×40) is a round number, and that a duration of the period of the Judges so long as that which would result from the acceptance of these figures, is of itself not at all probable, and must be considerably reduced to agree with the genealogies of that period.* If therefore we started from the year 1015 B.C. as the third of Solomon's reign, and fixed the exodus in 1495 B.C., this latter date would be not only uncertain, but also improbable. For reasons derived from the Old Testament itself, we are disposed to adopt a later date.

Can we then propose a better chronology in place of that just mentioned? We are not without the data required for this purpose. We possess also Egyptian accounts of Israel's exodus, especially a narrative of the priest Manetho, who compiled a history of his nation from ancient records and memorials about 250 years before our era. His work has unfortunately been lost, but a couple of fragments of it have been preserved to us by the Jewish historian Flavius Josephus, and we possess short extracts from the whole. It is just the fragments given by Josephus which promise to throw light upon our subject. It is not however the first one,† which the Jewish writer himself regards as the more important to Israel, which does so. It informs us that for 511 years—it is considered from about 2100 to 1600 B.C.‡—Egypt was ruled by nomadic tribes of Arabian origin, which at first swayed the sceptre over a great portion of the land, but being gradually driven back further and further, were

* Comp. my *Hist. Kritisch Onderzoek*, &c., I. 220 sq., and Note I. at the end of this Chapter.

† In his work, *Contra Apion*, I. 14, 15.

‡ In reference to these and other Egyptian figures, see Note II. at the end of this Chapter.

at last confined to a single town (Auaris), and were eventually expelled from that also. According to the fragment of Manetho, the Egyptians called this period of their history the reign of the *Hyksos*, or shepherd-princes. In these Hyksos Josephus recognizes the Israelites. But he is wrong. If Israel had for a time ruled Egypt, or had even taken part in the government of Egypt, some remembrance of the fact would assuredly have remained in the Old Testament, and the sojourn in Goshen would not be referred to principally as a time of servitude. Josephus evidently allowed himself to be misled by his national vanity, when he claimed the great deeds of the Hyksos for his forefathers. We can in truth forgive him for identifying them with the conquerors of Egypt, rather than, like Manetho, with those "leprous and unclean persons" of whom the latter makes mention elsewhere in his Egyptian history. We are, however, thankful to Josephus for having also preserved this second narrative* of Manetho, and for having thus placed us in a position to judge for ourselves. It is remarkable enough to be communicated here, at all events in its chief features.

King Amenophis—so runs the narrative referred to—desired to see the gods. It was told him by one of the priests that he should enjoy this privilege if he would cleanse Egypt from all leprous and unclean persons. The king resolved to do this, and sent all those unfortunates, eighty thousand in number, to the quarries eastward of the Nile. Among them were some priests. The ill-treatment which they suffered began to alarm the king's counsellor: he put an end to his life by suicide, after writing to the king to tell him that the lepers, aided by foreign allies, would rule over Egypt for thirteen years: by this means the gods would avenge the indignity to which their servants had been subjected. The king thereupon put a stop to the servile labour exacted from those unhappy men, and assigned to them as a dwelling-place the city of Auaris—built by the

* *Contra Apion*, I. 26, 27.

Hyksos, but deserted since their departure. A priest from Heliopolis, called Osarsiph (Osarophis), placed himself at their head. He gave them laws opposed to Egyptian customs, ordered them to fortify Auaris, and invited the expelled Hyksos to combine with him and his confederates in undertaking a campaign against Egypt. The Hyksos were ready at once. King Amenophis brought, indeed, a large army into the field against them, but mindful of the divine utterance which foretold his defeat, he would not risk an engagement, and retired into Ethiopia. The Hyksos, in conjunction with the inhabitants of Auaris, now committed such frightful ravages in Egypt, that their former domination seemed in comparison to have been a golden age. After a lapse of thirteen years, Amenophis, with his son named Sethos or Ramses, returned at the head of a numerous army and freed his land from the foreign conquerors, whom he pursued to the borders of Syria. "It is related"—writes Manetho—"that after he had joined these men, the priest from Heliopolis, named Osarsiph (Osarophis), who gave them (the lepers) a form of government and laws, changed his name and called himself *Moses*."

In spite of its fabulous character, the account agrees unmistakably with the Israelitish tradition of the exodus. The Egyptians looked upon all foreigners as unclean; therefore we cannot wonder that they call the nomads who threw off their authority, "lepers." As little does it surprise us that they ascribe their defeat to the displeasure of their gods. It is further remarkable that, according to this narrative also, the severe measures of the Egyptians, and especially the servile labour imposed by them, lead to the revolt of the oppressed; and not less so that the difference between the Egyptian laws and those of Osarophis, particularly his aversion to the Egyptian gods, is also acknowledged here. The book of Exodus does not mention the aid given by the Hyksos, as, speaking generally, the deliverance of Israel is there considered exclusively from the religious point of view and represented as the work of

Jahveh and of him alone. But a few slight touches furnish us with proof that the Israelites were supported by the nomadic tribes of Arabia, that is to say by the Hyksos.* In short, in spite of Flavius Josephus, who combats this opinion with great zeal, we must hold that the Egyptian reading of Israel's exodus has been preserved to us in Manetho's narrative.

Who, then, is king Amenophis, from whose tyranny the Israelites escaped? When did he reign? The investigation of this important question is attended with peculiar difficulties, and is not yet by any means concluded. The conviction, however, gains ground more and more, that he is no other than Menephtha or Menophtha, the son of Ramses II., Miamun. Those scholars who regard him as such are also of opinion that the year 1322 B.C.—the beginning of a so-called Sothis-period—falls within the reign of this Menephtha. As he was king for nineteen or twenty years, the first year of his reign must lie between B.C. 1340 and 1323; the exodus is accordingly placed by one in B.C. 1321, by another in B.C. 1320, and by a third in 1314 B.C. Of course perfect accuracy on this point is unattainable. With this reservation, I accept the year 1320 B.C. as the most probable. The sequel of our investigations will by degrees show us more clearly that this figure is at least not far from the truth.†

Now that we have fixed the end of the sojourn of the Israelites in Goshen, let us also endeavour to attain to certainty with regard to the duration of that sojourn. Respecting this, too, we possess precise testimony in the Old Testament:‡ 430 years passed between Jacob's arrival in Egypt and the exodus of his race. But for various reasons the accuracy of these figures is

* Let the reader consider the sojourn of Moses in Midian (Exod. ii. 15 seq.), the visit of Jethro (Exod. xviii.), and the guidance afforded to the Israelites by Hobab (Num. x. 29—32). According to Exod. i. 10, it was the fear that Israel would join the enemies of Egypt and war against Egypt that led to the oppression.

† Comp. Note II. at the end of this Chapter. ‡ Exod. xii. 40.

extremely doubtful.* Moreover, so long a residence is not probable: during a period of more than four centuries, the Israelites would hardly have been able to retain their national peculiarities. We are therefore inclined to shorten considerably the interval between their entrance into Egypt and their exodus. But how far we may go in this direction is uncertain. Must we infer from the narratives of Genesis that, when Israel settled there, Egypt was governed by native kings, and was not under the dominion of the Hyksos? May we moreover suppose that the children of Israel, if they had obtained permission from the Hyksos to go to dwell in Goshen, would have abandoned that country when their protectors themselves were forced to evacuate Egypt? If it be considered that these two questions may be answered in the affirmative, it follows that the settlement in Goshen must be placed later than 1600 B.C., when, as we have already remarked, the Hyksos were expelled. This date is not improbable. But we shall not arrive at certainty until the deciphering of the Egyptian monuments, which promise to throw light upon this point, shall have furnished other more definite results than those which have hitherto been obtained.

The Israelites were oppressed only during the last years of their sojourn in Goshen. How long that slavery lasted, however, is a point of which we are again ignorant. The narrative in Exodus would suggest 100 years or more: Moses was born after the order to kill the children of the male sex was issued, and had reached the age of 80 years when he demanded from Pharaoh the release of the Israelites.† But this deduction is inadmissible for two reasons: the drowning of the new-born sons can scarcely be accepted as history; still less can we believe that Israel was delivered and governed—for 40 years longer—by an old man of eighty. Probability again pleads for a shorter servitude: had the Israelites borne it for a century, it would undoubtedly have gained its end and entirely destroyed their

* Comp. Note I. at the end of this Chapter.

† Exod. vii. 7.

independence. Thus we are naturally led to the supposition that Menephtha's predecessor, Ramses II., was their oppressor. He reigned 66 years, and for the last 56 years of his rule occupied himself exclusively with internal affairs, among other things with the construction of temples and palaces, whose ruins still excite the amazement of those who behold them. In the interest of the unity and the power of his kingdom, he may have considered it advisable to deprive the tribes which lived on the eastern border of his territory of their comparative independence, and to incorporate them entirely. The Egyptian form of government was despotic in the highest degree; against Pharaoh's will no one would lift up hand or foot in all the country.* Such a conception of order could not but come into collision sooner or later with the inborn love of freedom of the nomads. And that Ramses II. was the man who began the struggle, is not only in complete accord with all that we know of him, but is also confirmed by the remarkable fact that one of the towns which the Israelites had to found bears the name of *Ramses*;† the remains of it which have now been discovered prove that it was not another king of that name, but Ramses II. himself, who caused it to be built. The Old Testament thus bears indirect testimony to the supposition advanced above, that the king under whom Israel departed was the successor of him who began the persecution,‡ Menephtha, the son of Ramses.

How gladly should we possess precise information of the circumstances which preceded the deliverance of the Israelites! But we long for this in vain. The tradition which we find in the book of Exodus existed, in its chief features at least, as early as the 8th century B.C.§ But more than 500 years had then

* Gen. xli. 44.

† Exod. i. 11 (comp. xii. 37; Num. xxxiii. 3, 5). If Gen. xlvii. 11 refers to the same Ramses, it is an anachronism or prolepsis, as it is called.

‡ Exod. i. 8, ii. 23, iv. 19.

§ In the book of Deuteronomy (about 625 B.C.) it is understood. Comp. also the prophetic passages quoted above, p. 117, n. †.

elapsed since the exodus. The authors of this narrative had, in composing it, no other aim than to show that the deliverance of Israel was the work of Jahveh and a glorious manifestation of his power. Yet we may surely take it for granted that the Israelites themselves were not passive spectators of the struggle; that a conspiracy was formed among them; that others besides Moses and Aaron played a part in it. But with regard to all this the book of Exodus is silent or confines itself to a few hints. The Egyptian accounts, in their turn, are no less one-sided. Of this alone can we be certain, that religion was mixed up with the conflict between the Egyptians and the Israelites. Throughout the ancient world, but especially in Egypt, the gods were intimately connected with the land in which they were served. The incorporation of Israel in the kingdom of Egypt would necessarily have had for its result the recognition of the supremacy of the Egyptian gods. Therefore the opposition made to this on the part of the Israelites was of itself regarded as a war between their god and those of the Egyptians.* Long before the time of Hosea,† Moses their leader passed for *a prophet*, an envoy and representative of the god of his nation.

But we shall revert to all this hereafter. We shall then also take notice of those features of the (Israelitish and Egyptian) tradition which favour the idea that the religion of Israel had an Egyptian origin. At present we will limit ourselves to an inquiry into the course of events. If we be in earnest in our desire to obtain a correct and admissible idea of them, we must once more allow ourselves an important deviation from the accounts of the Old Testament. It again has reference to one of those numerical statements of which we have already been obliged to reject some as exaggerated. We are reduced to the same necessity in treating the account: "so the children of Israel journeyed from Ramses to Succoth, *about six hundred*

* Exod. xii. 12, xviii. 11; Num. xxxiii. 4. † Hos. xii. 13.

*thousand on foot, men alone, besides the children."** According to this statement, the Israelites at the exodus formed a nation of nearly *two millions and a half.* Now in the Pentateuch there is no lack of accounts which agree with the one just mentioned, or fix it still more precisely: let the reader recollect the census taken by Moses, first in the desert of Sinai, and afterwards shortly before the conquest of Canaan;† the tax for the tabernacle, which entirely agrees with the first computation;‡ and the arrangements for encamping in the desert, which are founded upon it.§ The origin of these apparently so precise and authentic returns will be pointed out further on. They were not yet extant in the 8th century B.C., the historical views of which we are still using as a starting-point as much as possible. At that time they only possessed the round calculation—600,000 fighting men—which we have just quoted. There is no doubt that this again is much, very much, too high. From those six hundred thousand the narrator distinguishes not only the old men, women, and children, but also the many strangers who attached themselves to the Israelites and set out with them.‖ There is not a single reason for denying that association; on the contrary, it lies in the nature of the case that among the tribes—presumably of Semitic origin—which sojourned together with the children of Israel in Goshen, there were many who left that country along with them. But even if we assume that the number of those strangers was very large; even if we consider them as included in the 600,000 fighting men, in opposition to the author's assertions, these figures are certainly still very much exaggerated. Unless we suppose that they were comparatively a small nation, we cannot form a reasonable idea either of the sojourn in Goshen or the wanderings in the desert, or of the settlement of the

* Exod. xii. 37.

† Num. i. 46 (603,550 fighting men), xxvi. 51 (601,730 fighting men). The Levites—exactly 22,000 men, according to Num. iii. 14—39—are omitted in both instances.

‡ Exod. xxxviii. 26. § Num. ii. ‖ Exod. xii. 38; comp. Num. xi. 4.

Israelites in Canaan and their subsequent fortunes. A recent historian* estimates the Israelitish army which conquered Canaan at sixty or seventy thousand men, and the whole people at 350,000 souls. Every guess here is hazardous. But we may venture to assert that this number comes nearer to the truth than that given in the Old Testament, which is ten times as large.†

It is hardly necessary to say that by this important deviation from the tradition, not only the wanderings in the desert, as we shall presently find, but also the passage of the Red Sea, are rendered much more comprehensible. What actually took place there we do not know. The only thing certain is that the Israelites remembered that they had there escaped a great danger which threatened them from the side of the Egyptians. Even in early times their rescue was considered and celebrated as an act of Jahveh. The account which we possess in Exodus of their passage may have existed as early as the eighth century B.C.‡ It is undoubtedly founded on fact. But it is very difficult to distinguish the actual circumstances of the occurrence from poetical embellishments. We will not risk the attempt. For our purpose it is enough to know that the deliverance of the children of Israel was completed when the Red Sea divided them from their pursuers.

With respect to Israel's wanderings in the desert and settlement in Canaan we find in the Pentateuch and the book of Joshua accounts varying greatly in age, which when thrown together form but an ill-compacted whole. If we wish once more to start from the conception which was current of these events in the eighth century before our era, we must put aside altogether very considerable portions of those books. The book

* M. Duncker, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, i. 293 (3e, Ausg.).

† Comp. Note III. at the end of the Chapter.

‡ The song of Moses and the Israelites, Exod. xv. 1—19, although (as appears from ver. 13 sqq.) composed in Canaan, yet seems to be comparatively ancient. Isaiah was acquainted with it, for after mentioning the exodus from Egypt in ch. xi. 16, he makes use, in ch. xii. 2 seq., of more than one expression which is borrowed from it. And some, not without reason, see allusions to Exod. xiv. in Isa. x. 26, xi. 15.

of Deuteronomy and the kindred passages in Joshua* date from the latter half of the seventh century B.C., and therefore cannot be taken into consideration. The priestly legislation and the narratives connected with it are still more recent than Deuteronomy, and therefore they also shall remain unnoticed; in fact, we shall do well if we forget them as much as possible; in an investigation such as the present they can only create confusion. The chapters which we now retain† are comparatively few in number, but yet they are sufficient to show us the conception of history which was in vogue before the year 700 B.C. Its chief features are as follows.

After the passage of the Red Sea the Israelites, led by Moses, repaired to the Mount of Sinai. On the road thither they already received powerful support from Jahveh their god: their wants were miraculously supplied by the rain of manna, the quails and the water from the rock;‡ and they were victorious in the fight with Amalek.§ In the desert of Raphidim, where that battle was fought, the meeting between Moses and his father-in-law Jethro also took place, and led to the better administration of justice.‖ But Jahveh revealed himself to his people on one of the summits of the Sinaitic range, in a much more glorious manifestation than in these first occurrences. In the audience of Israel he made known his will, contained in "the ten words" (or the law of the ten commandments), while flames and smoke indicated his presence.¶ Immediately afterwards, a covenant was made between Jahveh and Israel,**

* Chaps. i.—xi. and xxii.—xxiv. of the book of Joshua have been modified by the Deuteronomist (or the author of Deuteronomy), but in such a way that his additions can usually be distinguished without difficulty from the older narratives used by him.

† Which these are can be readily inferred from the following review of events and from the references made in the notes.

‡ Exod. xvi. (partly of later date), xvii. 3—6.

§ Exod. xvii. 8—16.

‖ Exod. xviii.

¶ Exod. xix. 1—xx. 17 (but a more original redaction of "the ten words" is replaced here by a later one).

** Exod. xxiv.

on the basis of those "ten words" and of other commandments, which together form the so-called Book of the Covenant.* The promises linked with these precepts would now, as they were given to understand, be soon fulfilled.† It is true that the Israelites sinned against Jahveh, even while they were yet before Sinai, by worshipping him under the form of a golden bull, in violation of his express command; it is true that after this incident Jahveh appeared ready to destroy them; but the intercession of Moses turned aside his anger, so that the covenant between him and the people could be renewed.‡ The Israelites were thus enabled to set out for Canaan, for this was the land which Jahveh had promised them. When, after a journey in which indications of their rebellious disposition were not wanting,§ they arrived, preceded and conducted by Jahveh,‖ at the southern boundary of the promised land, Moses sent out spies to prepare the way for the invasion. They reported very favourably of the fertility and resources of the land, but they spoke so strongly of the prowess of the inhabitants, that the Israelites lost courage and refused to carry out the inroad. Thereupon Jahveh's anger was kindled: all, such was his sentence, all who had been witnesses of the miracles at the exodus from Egypt, should die in the desert; only Caleb, the son of Jephunneh—and Joshua also, according to another tradition, which includes him among the spies—should behold the promised land; not until forty years afterwards,¶ when a new generation had been born and had grown up, should Israel enter and take possession of Canaan. When some of the Israelites, in opposition to this judgment, hazarded an attack upon the

* Exod. xx. 22—26, xxi.—xxiii., comp. xxiv. 7.

† Exod. xxiii. 20—33.

‡ Exod. xxxii.—xxxiv.

§ Num. xi. xii.

‖ Num. x. 33—36, and the passages relating to the pillar of cloud and of fire, quoted below [p. 131, n. ‖].

¶ Comp. Amos ii. 10, v. 25, where the forty years of the journey in the wilderness already appear.

inhabitants of the south of Canaan, they were defeated.* So the Israelites had to begin their wanderings over again. The Pentateuch can tell us but little of these wanderings: the rebellion of Dathan and Abiram, with the consequent punishment, is almost the only particular which is communicated to us of a period of thirty-eight years.† The fortieth year of the journey is the first regarding which we possess detailed information. Then the Israelites travelled round the territory of Edom to the regions east of the Jordan.‡ They found them no longer occupied exclusively by the Ammonites and Moabites: the Amorites, who formerly lived only to the west of the river, in Canaan proper, had some time previously settled in the trans-Jordanic region, and had there founded a powerful kingdom at the expense of the Ammonites.§ Their king Sihon, who resided in Heshbon, refused to allow the Israelites to pass through his territory, but lost both his land and his life in a battle with them.‖ A similar fate befel Og, the king of Bashan. The Israelites had thus become masters of an extensive district, eminently suited for the rearing of cattle. Two and a half tribes, Reuben, Gad and half Manasseh, requested and obtained from Moses permission to remain there;¶ the rest prepared to cross the river. Before they left the trans-Jordanic region, they escaped a two-fold danger which threatened them from the side of the Moabites. Balak, king of Moab, was hostile to them, and summoned Balaam the seer from Mesopotamia to curse them; but although the latter was not indisposed to comply with the king's wish, Jahveh protected his people, and instead of curses put glorious blessings into Balaam's mouth.** The Moabites did not now venture to make war upon the Israelites. But it soon seemed

* Num. xiii. xiv. (partly younger than the eighth century B.C.).

† Num. xvi. xviii. (partly younger than the eighth century B.C.).

‡ Num. xx. 14—21.

§ Comp., besides Num. xxi., to which we are about to refer, Judges xi. 15 seq., a narrative which is certainly not younger than the eighth century B.C.

‖ Num. xxi. ¶ Num. xxxii.

** Num. xxii.—xxiv.; comp. Deut. xxiii. 4, 5; Josh. xxiv. 9, 10; Mic. vi. 5.

that peace with them was more to be apprehended than hostilities; some among the Israelites began to take part in their ceremonies, especially in the unchaste service of Baal-Peor; a severe punishment, however, speedily put a stop to this abomination.* The fortieth year of the journey in the desert now draws to its close; Moses' task is finished; he dies, after appointing Joshua his successor.† Under his lead the river is crossed: as the Red Sea was formerly, the Jordan is now passed dryshod.‡ Arrived in Canaan proper, the Israelites occupy a camp near Gilgal.§ The neighbouring city of Jericho presently falls into their hands by a miracle.‖ A small reverse sustained in an attack upon Ai is soon brilliantly revenged.¶ The inhabitants of Gibeon, foreseeing their fate, submit, and by craft obtain favourable conditions.** But most of the Canaanitish princes prefer war to voluntary slavery. In two engagements Joshua destroys the armies raised by the allied princes of southern and northern Canaan.†† Henceforward the struggle is decided. One after another the principal towns fall into the hands of the victors. It is now no longer necessary to keep the whole army together: Joshua divides Canaan among the remaining tribes, exhorts them to obey Jahveh's commandments, and lets them go to the inheritance allotted to them.‡‡ Not long afterwards the venerable commander dies and is buried at Timnath Serah, on the mount of Ephraim, the tribe to which he belonged.§§

Even on a simple perusal of the narratives of which we have here given the substance, we meet with difficulties which forbid us to consider them as purely historical. In the first place, we are surprised at their silence regarding the thirty-eight years of wandering in the desert; nothing appears to have happened

* Num. xxv. 1—5; comp. Hos. ix. 10; Deut. iv. 3; Josh. xxii. 17.

† Deut. xxxi. 14, 15, 23, comp. iii. 21, 22, 28; also (part of) Deut. xxxiv.

‡ Josh. iii. iv. § Josh. iv. 19 b, 20. ‖ Josh. vi.

¶ Josh. vii. 1—viii. 29. ** Josh. ix. †† Josh. x. xi.

‡‡ Comp. Josh. xiii. seq. (partly younger than the eighth century B.C.).

§§ Josh. xxiv. 29, 30; Judges ii. 8, 9.

during this period but the rebellion of Dathan and Abiram;* it seems as if the Israelites busied themselves exclusively with—dying out. No less singular is the crowding of important events into the fortieth year after the exodus. The death of Aaron falls—according to a more recent account, which, however, does not differ from the old one, but determines it more precisely—on the first day of the fifth month of that year, and is followed by a mourning of thirty days;† after that the Israelites march round Edom, treat with Sihon, defeat him and seize his kingdom, make themselves masters of the whole of Bashan, and remain encamped at Shittim long enough to fraternize with the Moabites after Balaam's departure.‡ It scarcely requires to be mentioned, that all this cannot have happened within a few months. Equally astonishing is, finally, the conquest of Canaan. From the narrative itself it appears that the Canaanites, when Joshua made war upon them, had reached a certain stage of civilization; the power of the Philistines and the Phœnicians is well known; how, then, is it possible that Israel in a couple of battles entirely crushed the resistance offered by the inhabitants of the land, and then took their towns without much difficulty? If—as the book of Joshua, in its present form, asserts§—the Canaanites knew that when defeated they would be killed to the last man, it is altogether inexplicable that they should not have resisted with the courage of despair. But even although they had no such knowledge, it is still very strange that they did not more forcibly repel the invasion which for some time they might have been able to foresee. We will not refer specially to the miracles wrought during the journey in the desert and the conquest, however obvious it may be that some of them owe their origin to occurrences or phenomena of a perfectly natural character.‖

* Num. xvi. xvii. (partly of later date).

† Num. xxxiii. 38, xx. 22—29.

‡ Num. xxi.—xxv.

§ Josh. ix. 24, ii. 9—13.

‖ *e.g.* the forty years' rain of manna (Exod. xvi. 35; Jos. v. 12), and the miracles

The difficulties which we have just mentioned acquire greater weight when we compare the narratives of the acts of Moses and Joshua with the accounts of Israel's subsequent fortunes. In the first place, it is incontestable that, after the death of Joshua, Canaan is inhabited both by the Israelites and the various tribes of the Canaanites, and inhabited in such a manner that here and there the latter are tributary, but in other places have subjugated the Israelites. The book of Joshua itself contains accounts which prove this, but the period of the Judges especially places this state of affairs in the clearest light. The king of Hazor—to name one of many examples—and his confederates are beaten by Joshua, Hazor itself is burnt, and its inhabitants are all put to the sword;* yet after Joshua's death the kingdom, as well as the city of Hazor, still exists, and is so powerful that king Jabin is able to subjugate the northern tribes of Israel, and is only defeated with the greatest difficulty.† In connection with this, our attention is attracted by the fact that victories are frequently ascribed to Moses or Joshua, which, according to other and evidently more trustworthy accounts, did not occur until after their deaths. Thus the town of Zephath is taken by the tribe of Judah and called Hormah,‡ although, according to the Pentateuch, this had already happened in the time of Moses.§ Thus, too, Jair, the judge, seizes a portion of the trans-Jordanic country, and calls it after his own name,‖ notwithstanding that both that conquest and that name already occur in the history of the fortieth year after the exodus.¶ Thus, moreover, the town of Debir, which Joshua twice reduces and

connected with it (Exod. xvi. 17 sq., 22 sqq.), owe their origin to the real manna, which drops from the tarfa-shrub in the Sinaitic desert; the pillar of cloud and fire (Exod. xiii, 21 sq., xiv. 19 sq., xxxiii. 9, 10; Num. xiv. 14; Deut. i. 33) to the fire which is carried in front of the caravan to shew the way (comp. Knobel, *Exod. u. Levit.* pp, 171 sqq., 134 sq.).

* Jos. xi, 1, 10, 11, 13. † Judges iv. v. ‡ Judges i. 17. Judges x. 3—5.

§ Num. xxi. 1—3; comp. Jos. xii. 14.

¶ Num. xxxii. 41; Deut. iii. 14.

lays waste,* is stated to have been again taken after his death by Othniel.† These facts undoubtedly afford matter for reflection. But another phenomenon, which comes to light in an unequivocal manner in the time of the Judges, is of still greater significance. Nothing can be more apparent than that during that time the tribes of Israel either stand each entirely alone or form smaller groups; as yet there is no such thing as an *Israelitish nation;* the unity of the people is as yet unborn, and only comes really into being by degrees, under Samuel and the first kings. How is this possible—we ask—if the twelve tribes have been united and have acted as one man, first for forty years under Moses, and then for some time under Joshua? If for so many consecutive years they were bound together as closely as we must infer from the Pentateuch and the book of Joshua, how could they suddenly spring asunder soon after the conquest? Why, then, did it cost so much trouble afterwards to make them blend into one people? With these questions before our minds, let us consider once more the representation which is given us of the union of the tribes under Moses and Joshua. We have already remarked that it is utterly untenable, nay absurd, if we apply it to a people of two million souls.‡ But even if we give up those returns of the number of the Israelites, that representation is still very improbable. How can we allow that some hundred thousands lived in one camp or in immediate vicinity to each other? Even supposing that, as tradition will have it, the people were supplied with water and food in a miraculous manner, what became of the flocks and herds? Unless they were to die of hunger in a very short time, the tribes must have dispersed themselves over a very large tract of country and wandered at long distances from each other, to re-assemble for a short time, when action became necessary. In short, while we willingly admit, on the strength of tradition, that the Israelites

* Jos. x. 38, 39, xi. 21, xii. 13.

† Judges i. 11—13; Jos. xv. 15—17.

‡ Above, pp. 21 sq., 124 sqq.

acted together for a common purpose under Moses and Joshua, we are at the same time of opinion that that co-operation is incorrectly represented as real union and as a residence of all the tribes in one place. And this we apply not only to the time when the tribes were still in the barren Sinaitic desert, but also to their later sojourn in the trans-Jordanic country and in the camp at Gilgal.

If we combine all these considerations, they show us the point of view from which we have to regard the narratives concerning Moses and Joshua. Events which in reality were distributed over a very long period, deeds which were achieved by more than one generation and mostly by particular tribes, were compressed by tradition into a very short space of time and were ascribed to all Israel. Not only the deliverance from Egyptian bondage and the guidance of the tribes through the desert, but also the settlement in the trans-Jordanic region is attributed to Moses, and the conquest of the whole of Canaan to Joshua. If the tribes on the further side of the Jordan gradually enlarged their territory and drove out or subjugated the former inhabitants—according to the Pentateuch, Moses takes possession of all Gilead and Bashan in a few weeks; if they penetrated into Canaan from more than one quarter and only became the ruling people there after a long struggle—the book of Joshua relates that they cross the Jordan near Jericho all together and are soon afterwards masters of the whole land; if in the course of time the boundaries of the domains of the separate tribes were frequently modified—according to the tradition, Joshua forthwith fixes them as they existed centuries afterwards.

It is not the place here to show that this conception of the character of the narratives relating to Moses and Joshua is strongly confirmed by what we know of the development of tradition among other nations. Every one can at once judge for himself whether our interpretation is a natural one. At all events it is quite in the nature of such cases, that in the memory

of a nation the events of a series of years become compressed into one great fact and are attached to one great name. But we must not enlarge upon this. We will rather, in order to avoid even the appearance of arbitrariness, point out by one clear example, how in the course of centuries particular circumstances recede into the background and at length make room for an undefined and misty representation, which keeps alive the remembrance of the chief fact, but yet is very far from the reality. Sometimes accounts of one and the same event are preserved to us in the Old Testament which vary greatly in age; the comparison of these with one another teaches us the course and the development of the tradition. The narratives relating to *Caleb*, who, as will be recollected, plays no unimportant part in the Pentateuch as well as in the book of Joshua, may illustrate this for us.

Caleb is the son of Jephunneh and is called besides, in the older accounts, *the Kenizite*, or, which comes to the same thing, *the son* (descendant) *of Kenaz*, the last name being also borne by Othniel, his "younger brother."* Now we are acquainted with the tribe of Kenaz, or the Kenizites, from other sources as well. They appear among the inhabitants of Canaan in the patriarchal times† and as a division of the Edomites.‡ We have not here to do with two different tribes which accidentally bear the same name. It is rather quite natural that the same (nomadic) tribe should have resided partly in the south of Canaan, afterwards called the desert of Judah, and partly on Mount Seir; the latter circumstance was sufficient to cause the father of that tribe to be regarded as the grandson of Esau or Edom. But then Caleb and Othniel: are they "sons of Kenaz," or Kenizites, in the sense of belonging to the partly Canaanitish and partly Edomitish tribe which we have just mentioned? Without the least doubt. They established themselves, accord-

* Num. xxxii. 12; Jos. xiv. 6, 14; Judges i. 13 [Jos. xv. 17], iii. 9, 11.

† Gen. xv. 19.

‡ Gen. xxxvi. 11, 15, 42 [1 Chr. i. 36, 53].

ing to all the accounts,* at Hebron and at Debir, that is in the very districts where the Kenizites were already established before the conquest; moreover they bear the same name. If then, notwithstanding this, they had nothing in common with those earlier Kenizites, a very singular and accidental coincidence must have occurred. But how then are we to account for Caleb and Othniel settling in the territory of the tribe of Judah? Put in this way, this question does not admit of an answer. The fact is, that the tribe of Judah, in the days of David and in after times, consisted partly of the descendants of the Israelites who penetrated into the land under Joshua, and partly of various tribes who lived there before the conquest of Canaan and afterwards attached themselves to Judah. It is very natural that Judah should have met with resistance in its attempts to establish itself, but no less natural that it should have obtained assistance. The tribes which were pursuaded to assist and to take part in the struggle against, for instance, the Enakites, amalgamated, not all at once but gradually, with Judah after the common victory. So it may have happened with the Kenizites. What occurred may, however, have been somewhat different. A section of the Kenizites may have already joined the Israelites before the latter penetrated into Canaan, during their wanderings in the desert, and may in this way have taken part in the conquest. We have already remarked that probably the Israelitish tribes did not enter Canaan all at once or from one quarter: the tribe of Kenaz may have contracted an alliance with that portion which, advancing from Kadesh, settled in the southern districts. So, many of the Kenites—who immediately precede the Kenizites in a list of the Canaanitish tribes†—took part in Israel's journey in the desert, to return with them afterwards to Canaan.‡ These Kenites, in an account relating to

† See the passages on p. 135, note *. † Gen. xv. 19.

‡ Judges i. 16, iv. 11, 17, v. 24; comp. Num. x. 29—32. See also Note IV. at the end of this Chapter.

David's time, are still distinguished from the tribe of Judah, in whose midst they lived,* but Caleb's descendants also were still in a certain degree distinct at that time.†

Now mark how in the later narratives, and especially in the Pentateuch and the book of Joshua, this actual connection between Caleb and the tribe of Judah passes more and more into the background. The conquest of Hebron, which is undoubtedly the work of Caleb and the Kenizites,‡ is attributed to the tribe of Judah.§ The same account in which this occurs, names Othniel, the son of Kenaz, as the conqueror of Debir, and places both events after Joshua's death;‖ elsewhere they are ascribed to Joshua himself.¶ It also appears clearly here and there that Caleb receives an inheritance in the midst of the children of Judah,** and therefore does not really belong to the tribe of Judah. But in the same narratives, in conformity with the accounts of the Pentateuch,†† he is mentioned as one of the spies sent out by Moses. This already is very singular, in connection with his descent from the tribe of Kenaz. This descent, however, falls altogether into oblivion, for in the (more recent) list of the twelve spies, one from each tribe, Caleb represents Judah;‡‡ and at last he actually receives a place, as a prince of Judah, among the twelve representatives of the tribes, who, together with Joshua and Eleazar, are to divide the land.§§ If it was thus held to be an established fact that he belonged to the tribe of Judah, it does not surprise us that the Chronicler is able to tell us how he is descended from Judah, the son of

* 1 Sam. xxvii. 10, xxx. 29.

† 1 Sam. xxv. 4, of Nabal, "and he was of the house of Caleb;" xxx. 14, "we have made an invasion upon the coast which belongeth to Judah, and upon the south of Caleb" (comp. xxvii. 10).

‡ Jos. xiv. 6—15, xv. 11.

§ Judges i. 10.

‖ Judges i. 11—13; Jos. xv. 15—17.

¶ Jos. x. 36—39, xi. 21, 22.

** Jos. xv. 13, comp. xiv. 6—15.

†† Num. xiii. xiv., xxxii. 12; Deut. i. 36.

‡‡ Num. xiii. 6.

§§ Num. xxxiv. 19.

Jacob: he is his great-grandson;* his elder brother is Jerahmeel, whose descendants, however, as well as the Kenites, are in more ancient accounts distinguished from the tribe of Judah,† so that his reception into the genealogical table of Judah affords a fresh proof of the effort to throw into oblivion the gradual formation of that tribe out of very heterogeneous elements. And even the Chronicler is inconsistent with himself: in another list Kenaz himself, the father of the tribe, is included among the descendants of Judah.‡ The grafting of Caleb or of his ancestor upon the genealogical tree of Judah is the last link in the chain: the real relation between the leader of the Kenizites and the children of Israel is now no longer to be recognized; had we not the older accounts to consult, besides the Chronicler, we should not suspect that Caleb can be called an Israelite only if we interpret that name in a very wide sense and entirely dismiss the idea that all Israelites were "sons of Israel."§

The conclusion to be drawn from all this is plain. If Caleb, one of the heads of the tribe of the Kenizites, who either conquered Hebron after the tribe of Judah had arrived in its territory, and attached himself to that tribe, or else made common cause with the Israelites and showed them some services before they were established in Canaan—if this Caleb is transformed by tradition into one of the spies sent out by Moses, and even into a prince of Judah; if his exploits are attributed by the same tradition to the tribe of Judah or to the whole of Israel, fighting under the leadership of Joshua—then, if we want to get at the truth, we must not follow that tradition without restriction; then we must rather keep this its character continually in view during our investigations, and in preference form our idea of the course of events from the minor traits which do not harmonize with its system; then it is not only

* 1 Chr. ii. 4, 5, 9, 18 sqq., 42 sqq. † 1 Sam. xxvii. 10, xxx. 29.

‡ 1 Chr. iv. 13—15.

§ Comp. also for the whole of this subject Note IV. at the end of this Chapter.

our right, but also our duty, to invoke the aid of historical probability and to allow it a double vote in deciding the result. We believe that we have remained true to these obligations in the interpretation which we have furnished above* of this period of Israel's history.

Before we proceed further, two more points attract our attention. They both concern the sojourn of the Israelites in the desert, of which we have hitherto only spoken generally.

According to tradition, this sojourn derives its chief significance from the giving of the law upon Sinai. It is not yet time to treat of this specially. But the conviction is already forced upon us here, that the idea which tradition gives us of it can but imperfectly correspond with the reality. In the 8th century B.C. but few laws—and those, as we shall see further on, not even universally or in the same sense—were ascribed to Moses and carried back to the sojourn in the desert of Sinai.† The immediate result of the recognition of this fact is, that we form an idea of the whole legislation different from that to which we are led by the Pentateuch in its present shape; it scarcely requires to be demonstrated that the laws which were not ascribed to Moses until after the 8th century B.C., cannot really have emanated from him. But we cannot acquiesce even in the ideas of the 8th century. The laws which it acknowledged as Mosaic, bear evident signs of more recent origin; even "the ten words" have not come down to us unaltered, so that none of them can be attributed to Moses without further inquiry.‡ Thus the law given on Sinai is reduced to still smaller dimensions. But besides that—and this is the only thing which it was absolutely necessary to discuss here—besides that, our conception of it must be modified in accordance with the ideas which we have just brought forward with reference to the journey in the desert in general. Whether we follow the local tradition in taking Sinai proper for the scene of the lawgiving, or hold Serbal to be

* P. 134. † Above, p. 127.

‡ Comp. Exod. xx. 2—17 with Deut. v. 6—21.

the place, in neither case do we obtain a locality large and fertile enough to lodge the Israelitish tribes with all their flocks and herds, even for a few days.* If they really were assembled at the foot of one of those mountains, which even in ancient times were looked upon as holy places, it could have been only in spirit, that is, in their representatives or elders, while the mass of the people were scattered here and there. We will not inquire now what took place at that assembly. It is enough for us to have pointed out that our modified view of the sojourn in the desert cannot be without influence upon our conception of what happened at Sinai.

The same reason which causes us to regard an assemblage of all the Israelitish tribes round about Sinaï as improbable, leads us to depart from tradition in another point also. It refers to the duration of the sojourn in the wilderness. As early as the 8th century B.C. there was a general conviction that the people of Israel had lived in the wilderness before their arrival in Canaan, and that period of their history was computed at 40 years.† But in judging of what Amos and Hosea say upon this point, we must not lose sight of two things. In the first place, the indefinite meaning of "the desert;" it is usually thought to be the peninsula of Sinai, because it is to this that the Pentateuch confines the wanderings of the Israelites; but the expression admits of a wider interpretation and by no means excludes, for instance, the desert of Syria, to the east of Canaan. In the second place, we ought to reflect, that 40 is a round number, and that he who first reckoned the sojourn in the wilderness at 40 years, did not at all mean by that to give the exact duration of that sojourn, which he himself did not know: it was not till afterwards that this number was taken literally, as is done in the narratives of the Pentateuch.‡ If we, moreover, take into

* According to the later tradition, the Israelites remained near Sinai from the 1st day of the 3rd month of the 1st year (Exod. xix. 1) to the 20th day of the 2nd month of the 2nd year after the exodus. (Num. x. 11.)

† Comp. the passages from Amos and Hosea, cited above, p. 117, note †.

‡ *e.g.* Num. xiv. 34; Deut. ii. 14, and elsewhere.

consideration that the peninsula of Sinai is comparatively unfruitful, and that its present condition cannot essentially differ from that of 3000 years ago, and further that we have already found that the crowding of important events into the 40th year is extremely improbable—we are led to form an idea of the fortunes of the Israelites during the time that elapsed between the exodus and the conquest, which differs notably from the description in the Pentateuch. The tribes may have remained in the peninsula of Sinai for some time after their liberation; it is probable that they attempted in vain to penetrate thence into Canaan over the southern boundary; after the failure of this plan, they must have turned northwards, round the land of Edom, and have wandered for some time in the desert of Syria; this region would not long suffice to afford them subsistence; and their wandering existence, too, could not be prolonged indefinitely; the project of seizing Gilead and Bashan ripened and was successfully executed; there the tribes now remained provisionally established, long enough to fraternize with the Moabites, as the tradition itself informs us. How long they lived there, and at what time the desire to possess the fertile plain of the Jordan became strong enough to make them brave the dangers connected with a war of conquest, we do not know for certain. But tradition certainly does not exaggerate when it regards the exodus from Goshen and the invasion of Canaan as having been divided by a period of 40 years; probably the interval was still longer. If we were not wrong above* in indicating Menephtha as the king under whom the exodus occurred, the Egyptian monuments perhaps afford us light here also. One of the successors of that Pharaoh, Ramses III., made war upon the inhabitants of Canaan; the monuments upon which he portrayed and described these, among other, victories, still exist; among the people subjected by him the Israelites do not appear; nor do they retain any recollection of a struggle with the Egyptian conqueror; therefore when he carried out

* P. 121.

his campaigns, they must have been still living in the trans-Jordanic region. Then did they cross the river soon after his return to Egypt? Is the successful issue of their undertaking to be partly ascribed to the weakening of the inhabitants of Canaan in the war with Ramses? We cannot prove this, but it is by no means improbable. Now, according to the Egyptologists, whose opinions we give here, the end of the campaign of Ramses falls between the years 1280 and 1260 B.C.* Therefore it was then also that the Israelites set foot upon Canaanitish soil. From 40 to 60 years had elapsed since the exodus.

In proportion as we advance in our review of the history of the Israelites, we are able to be more concise; the accounts become more copious and more trustworthy, and the work of reducing tradition to reality is simplified. This is at once the case with the period of the Judges, with regard to which, as before, we will first hear the Old Testament.

The compiler of the book of Judges considers Israel's fortunes during that period from one fixed point of view. So long as Joshua and his contemporaries were alive, the people remained true to the service of Jahveh, but after their death they began to worship the gods of the Canaanites; angry at this, Jahveh gave up his people to foreign conquerors; but when, brought to repentance by distress, they sued for deliverance, he raised up Judges, who placed themselves at the head of the oppressed, defeated or expelled the stranger, and after victory continued to exercise a well-earned authority; the prosperity enjoyed under this administration resulted in fresh apostacy, which led to a repetition of the same events.† In this framework the writer sets the various traditions concerning this epoch which were at his disposal. But this does not mean that those traditions fit into this framework. On the contrary, just as the calamitous

* Comp. here also Note II. at the end of this Chapter.

† Judges ii. 6—iii. 6, and the introductions to the narratives relating to the Judges whom we are about to mention separately.

wars of which they tell usually concern but a single tribe or a smaller group of tribes, so the influence of the heroes whose deeds they sketch is confined within narrow limits. Here we have already a first point upon which the author and his records are at variance. It is no less evident that only a few of his heroes can lay claim to the character of judge or liberator of the people, which he attributes to all of them. Therefore, in order to form a correct idea of the history of this period, we must free ourselves as much as possible from the views of the author, and this we do the more readily in that—although they existed in germ in the documents which he used—they had not yet attained their full development in the eighth century B.C. We have only to do here with the narratives which he adopted, often without making much alteration in them. We may assume that their contents are well known. Who does not remember the accounts, frequently so animated and vivid, of Ehud, Barak and Deborah, Gideon, Abimelech, Jephthah, Samson and Eli?* For our purpose it is sufficient to recall the names of these men to memory. Let us further reflect that even the prophets of the eighth century B.C. regarded the victories gained by those heroes as tokens of Jahveh's care for his people.†

The period of the Judges is of the highest importance for Israel's entire development. In a word, it is the period of the formation of the nation. And it is so in more senses than one. In Canaan the tribes pass from a wandering to a stationary life; they cease to be nomads and herdsmen, and become agriculturists. It speaks for itself that this change was neither sudden nor complete. The Israelites only accustomed themselves gradually to the calm regularity of husbandry, but the character of the country, at least of the greater portion of the country, absolutely enjoined this life. Moreover, during their wandering life they

* Judges iii. 12—xvi.; 1 Sam. i.—iv.

† Isa. x. 26 alludes to the defeat of the Midianites (Judges vii. viii.), and ascribes it to Jahveh.

could not have been without preparation for this new condition: even nomads are accustomed to stay in fertile districts long enough to sow and reap. For those also who preferred to continue their nomadic life, sufficient opportunities of following their inclination existed in Canaan: not only the tribes which remained on the farther side of the Jordan, but also portions of the others, remained nomads, and were even tempted to do so by the extensive pastures—the Israelites called them *midbár*, a word which may be usually translated better by *uncultivated* or *pasture land* than by *desert*—which their new country afforded them. Still the large majority of the Israelites applied themselves to agriculture—a change the significance of which for the development of the nation cannot easily be over-estimated.

The same may, indeed, be said of a second circumstance, upon which we will now fix our attention. If formerly, in Goshen, and during the wanderings in the desert, the Israelites had been more isolated, in settling in Canaan they came into contact, or rather into constant intercourse, with nations which far excelled them in civilization, and—let us not forget this—with which they could associate without hindrance, as they all spoke one and the same tongue as themselves. First of all with the Phœnicians and with the Philistines, who inhabited the sea-coast of Canaan. The cities of the Phœnicians, especially Zidon and Tyre, had reached a high stage of prosperity as early as the thirteenth century B.C.; their commerce was extensive and very lucrative; their colonies were becoming by degrees more numerous and more powerful. As in the case of the former inhabitants of the land, the Phœnicians were obliged, in their own interest, to enter into commercial relations with the Israelites also, particularly with the northern tribes. On the whole, the Phœnicians and the Israelites were upon a friendly footing with each other: the former were too much engrossed with trade and industry to think of inland conquests; they were not a warlike people, and would rather suffer the towns subject to them to be

conquered by foreign invaders* than risk their mercantile interests by an armed resistance. This at least was the state of affairs in the first century after Israel's establishment in Canaan. The Israelites were not so fortunate in their relations with the Philistines. The accounts which the ancients give of this remarkable people—which, like the Israelites, but at an earlier period, had immigrated into Canaan†—lead us to form a high opinion of their bravery and their military organization. The five cities of the Philistines (Gaza, Aṣkalon, Ashdod, Gath and Ekron), governed by as many princes, formed a confederation, and were powerful enough to displace the tribe of Dan, which had settled in their vicinity,‡ to subjugate Judah,§ and, towards the end of the period of the Judges, to exercise a very oppressive domination over other tribes as well.‖ This gave rise to a most bitter feeling on the part of the Israelites against these "uncircumcised," and to constant wars, which, as we shall see further on, had great influence upon Israel's political development. But the inhabitants of the coast, the Phœnicians and the Philistines, were not the only neighbours with whom the tribes came in contact after they had settled in Canaan. We have already remarked, that here and there in the interior also the former inhabitants managed to hold their own. We are expressly assured, in regard to the Gibeonites and their allies, that by a treaty with Joshua they succeeded in stipulating for the peaceful possession of their towns.¶ Other Canaanitish towns also remained unconquered,** nay, continued so powerful that they subjugated the neighbouring tribes, and sometimes even greatly extended their territory.†† And many of the ancient inhabitants were doubtless left in the rural districts. This contact with the Canaanites must have had important results for the Israelites: it could not well be otherwise. Whether they made war

* Judges xviii. 7, 27—29.
‡ Judges xviii. 1, comp. i. 34.
‖ 1 Sam. iv., ix. 16, xiii. 19—22.
** Judges i. 21, 27, 29—33.
† Am. ix. 7; Deut. ii. 23; Gen. x. 14, &c.
§ Judges xiv. 4 b, xv. 10 seq.
¶ Jos. ix.
†† Judges iv. v.

upon each other, or lived together in peace, the question was still which of the two would retain the upper hand, and become the ruling people in Canaan? In the long run the more civilized, but also more effeminate natives could not withstand the Israelites, fresh and rendered hardy by their wandering life. The ultimate result of the armed or the peaceful struggle was, that Israel's supremacy was established, and at last was no longer disputed. The Canaanites were either entirely subdued or gradually absorbed by Israel. This did not take place everywhere at the same time or in the same manner; on the contrary, from the very nature of the case, the result was here attained earlier and there later, and was modified according to local circumstances. For instance, one of the sections of the tribe of Simeon, that of the Saulites, must soon have included so many Canaanites that the supposed father of their tribe, Saul, could be called in the pedigrees "the son of the Canaanitish woman."* Elsewhere, on the other hand, the old inhabitants remained in possession of their independence for a comparatively long time, and formed, either because they defied every attack which was made upon them,† or with the approval of the Israelites, an *imperium in imperio*. This last is true of the Gibeonites, for example, who in the time of Saul still possessed their territory and nationality, and in the reign of David came forward with the demand that Saul's attack upon them should be revenged upon his children.‡ Solomon was the first to deprive these and other Canaanites of their independence,§ in so far as they had not already become allied with or absorbed by the Israelites. It was but natural that the nomadic tribes, especially, who dwelt in Canaan at the time of the conquest, should have sided with the Israelites and speedily formed one people with them: let the reader remember what we have already observed with regard

* Gen. xlvi. 10; Exod. vi. 15.

† Jebus was first conquered by David (2 Sam. v. 6—9; comp. Judges xix. 10—12); Gezer first in Solomon's reign (1 Kings ix. 16).

‡ 2 Sam. xxi. 1—14. § 1 Kings ix. 20, 21.

to the Kenites and the Kenizites.* But many from among the Canaanites properly so called also joined them, as well as from the neighbouring nations, Ishmael, Edom, Ammon and Moab, who, having an affinity with the Israelites, willingly supported them in their struggle or shared their victory.†

Thus we see the Israelites, after their settlement in Canaan, not only retain the supremacy over their opponents, but also increase in number and might. From the very nature of the case, they had to thank the Canaanites not only for that numerical reinforcement, but also for the extension of their knowledge and the increase of their civilization. Did their intercourse with them also influence their religion? This is a question which we shall answer subsequently. Here we will merely remark that the political relations between the old and the new inhabitants of Canaan supply no argument for assigning a Canaanitish origin to the religion of the latter. If the Israelites remained masters of the field in the protracted struggle with their adversaries, it is at least probable that their religion also triumphed in the struggle against that of the natives. But we shall say more on this subject in another chapter.

The two facts of which we have attempted to show the significance—the change to a stationary life and the intercourse with the Canaanites—have together contributed towards that which we have already declared to be the result of the period of the Judges: *the formation of the Israelitish nation.* Involuntarily we have already used this word nation more than once. It seemed to be unnecessary to replace it on every occasion by a lengthy periphrasis. But we must not on that account forget what is as clear as noonday from the narratives relating to the Judges, that in the period named after them Israel's political unity was yet to be created and the Israelitish nation did not yet exist. We have already observed that the calamities occasioned

* Above, pp. 135—138.

† Comp. Note V. at the end of this Chapter.

by wars which are mentioned in the book of Judges usually afflicted only single tribes and were regarded with indifference by the remainder; in consonance with this, the deliverance, as a rule, was the work of a few tribes, allied temporarily only for that purpose. The Judges are rightly called the heroes of the tribes of Israel. Read the complaints of Deborah at the inaction of the brothers during the oppression of Zebulon and Naphtali, at the time of the attempt at deliverance undertaken by her in conjunction with Barak;* she does not once mention Judah, as if it were a matter of course that this tribe did not trouble itself about what happened in the north. It is true that these complaints are at the same time evidence of a former union; the co-operation at the exodus from Egypt and in the conquest of the land had evidently not yet been forgotten. If for the moment it no longer existed,† it could surely be restored? Just because it was remembered what great things had been brought about formerly by the tribes in close combination; just because it was always found that division led to weakness and rendered the tribes an easy prey to every enemy within the country or marauder from without, must the wish for union have gradually arisen and grown stronger. It is true, it was not easy to disguise the fact that great difficulties were connected with that union. A vehement rivalry existed between the tribes. Were they to combine more closely, who should then take the lead in the confederation? It was scarcely to be expected that Ephraim would cede that honour to another. More than once the smaller tribes had to discover that the Ephraimites looked upon the development of their power with jealous eyes.‡ Supposing that they accepted a subordinate position, and thus followed the

* Judges v. 14—18, 23.

† The narrative in Judges xix.—xxi. would furnish valid proof to the contrary, only if it were in all respects worthy of credence. But although founded on fact (comp. Hos. ix. 9, x. 9), it represents the co-operation of the tribes especially with such unmistakable exaggeration that we cannot accept it as pure history.

‡ Judges viii. 1—3, xii. 1—6.

example, not of Jephthah, but of Gideon—would Judah also be found ready to bow the head to Ephraim? These difficulties were certainly more easily foreseen than solved. The solution, however, could be left to time, and its difficulty detracted nothing from the reality of the existing necessity and from the longing for the advantages held out by a combination against the enemy. And the form in which it was necessary that a closer union should be effected was indicated more and more plainly. The Canaanitish and the neighbouring nations were governed by kings: why should not Israel follow their example?* The Judges had proved by their deeds of heroism how thoroughly indispensable was the guidance of a brave leader, and what it could accomplish. But enough: the conviction gained ground more and more that it was necessary to introduce the regal form of government. Even within the period of the Judges more than one effort was made to establish a monarchy. Those efforts were not successful. Some were even heard to declare that the dangers of monarchical rule were greater than the advantages which could be derived from it.† But the current of the times was not to be diverted. Towards the end of this period the Philistines extended their authority still further; they had for a long time held the neighbouring tribes in subjection, and now they endeavoured to incorporate the others also in their confederation. In more than one battle it was proved that the Israelites could not withstand the military art of the powerful inhabitants of the coast. Even the ark of Jahveh—of which more hereafter—which was usually kept in the sanctuary at Shiloh, but was now carried into the fight, fell into their hands.‡ The condition of the Israelites was very sad.§ It became more and more evident that all was over with their independence, nay, with their nationality, unless they sank their former feuds, and ranged themselves under the lead of one man capable first of

* 1 Sam. viii. 5; Deut. xvii. 14.

† Judges ix. 8—15; 1 Sam. viii. 11—18; comp. Judges viii. 23.

‡ 1 Sam. iv.

§ 1 Sam. ix. 16, x. 5, xiii. 19—22.

saving them from the immediate danger, and then of keeping them united under his sceptre. The time had arrived when it was to appear that the lessons learnt during the period of the Judges had not been learnt in vain: the birthday of Israel's national unity was breaking.

Samuel, Saul, David, Solomon: to these four names is attached the history of the century of Israel's unity. It needs only to be recollected that we, starting from the tradition of the eighth century B.C., leave altogether out of consideration the much more recent accounts of the Chronicler relating to David and Solomon.* This we can do without any essential loss, since those communications, as far as they deviate from the older historical books, are of no value as history, however important they may be as characterizing the time in which the author himself lived. But those older books—1 and 2 Samuel and 1 Kings i.—xi.—also include narratives which decidedly did not yet exist in the eighth century B.C., although it is not easy to separate the more recent portions from the older ones. We should not be able to avoid attempting this, if we had to do here with an accurate knowledge of details. But for our purpose this is not absolutely required. Without entering into such particulars, we wish to sketch the character of this period in its chief features. That which the books just mentioned tell us as to the chief actors we may again assume to be well known. Nor need we remind the reader that Jahveh—according to the ideas of the historians, but also assuredly of the pious of the eighth century—did not cease to regard the interests of his people Israel, and to direct its destiny at and after the establishment of a monarchical government.

The relation between Saul and Samuel, and afterwards between Saul and David, is not described in the same way in the different narratives, and even now is very variously interpreted. Many

* 1 Chr. x.—xxix.; 2 Chr. i.—ix.

are of opinion that the historians who lived under the rule of David's descendants, and who, besides this, worked in the spirit of the prophets, if they were not themselves prophets, have not done justice to Saul, and on the other hand have portrayed Samuel and David too favourably. In following out this idea, writers have sometimes fallen into the opposite extreme,* but this must not prevent us from acknowledging the relative truth of the opinion itself. Thus, quite at the outset, Samuel's political merits are estimated too highly in the review of his government as a judge.† He may, as we read there, have done what he could to arouse the confidence of the Israelites in their national god, and may even have gained a victory over the Philistines—for which, however, we cannot vouch—but there is no doubt as to the exaggeration of that which is further communicated to us: "So the Philistines were subdued, and they came no more into the coast of Israel, for the hand of Jahveh was against the Philistines all the days of Samuel; and the cities which the Philistines had taken from Israel were restored to Israel, from Ekron even unto Gath; and the coasts thereof did Israel deliver out of the hands of the Philistines."‡ All this is so obviously contradicted in the sequel,§ that it is evident that the author must have given way here to his desire to glorify Samuel. The fact is rather, that after Eli's death Samuel applied himself to awakening the religious feeling of the Israelites and to maintaining order and justice among them. His endeavours, to which we shall revert hereafter, were crowned with success. It is probable that they resulted in the commencement of a resistance to the Philistines. But independently of that they were highly meritorious, and, in order to be acknowledged as one of Israel's great men, Samuel does not need the laurels to which Saul and David have a lawful claim. He did not effect

* Among others, M. Duncker, *Gesch. des Alterthums*, I. 577—623 (3e Ausg.), translated in the *Bibl. voor Mod. Theol.* Vol. xi. pp. 315—362.

† 1 Sam. vii. 2 b—17.

‡ 1 Sam. vii. 13, 14.

§ 1 Sam. ix. 16, x. 5, xiii. 19—22.

the liberation of his nation, but he made it possible and prepared the way for it. The honour of having raised Israel from its abasement belongs to Saul, the son of Kish, of the tribe of Benjamin. His heroic resolution to call the tribes to arms to rescue Jabesh in Gilead, while the oppression by the Philistines still continued, and the happy issue of this well-managed enterprize, brought him into general notice and resulted in his election as king.* Saul did not disappoint the expectations which his people had formed of him. He drove out the Philistines from their garrisons in the interior, defeated them more than once, and also carried on war with success against other, foreign, foes.† With all this he was simple in his manner of life, a citizen king, and no eastern despot with a large establishment of wives and protected by a standing army. If, in consequence, the organization of the Israelitish state left anything to be desired during his reign, he, the former husbandman, must not be blamed for having loved simplicity‡ and for not having at once had recourse to those expedients which appear indispensable to the stability of monarchy in the East.

It is impossible to make out with certainty from the varying accounts§ what may have given rise to the rupture between Saul and Samuel, and who was properly speaking to blame. Enough that strife was kindled and had lamentable results for Saul. Many hearts were estranged from him. He began to tremble for the safety of his crown and even to suspect those who surrounded him. David, a young and brave warrior of Bethlehem in Judah, Saul's son-in-law, became the victim of that suspicion, was compelled to save himself by flight, and, after wandering about for a long time as a freebooter, to accept service among the enemies of his nation, among the Philistines.‖

* 1 Sam. xi., where however the true nature of Saul's heroic deed is only half apparent.

† 1 Sam. xiii. seq., especially xiv. 47, 48; 2 Sam. i. 19—27.

‡ 1 Sam. ix. 3 seq., xi. 5.

§ 1 Sam. xiii. 8—15, xv. 10 seq.

‖ 1 Sam. xvii. seq.

While he remained with them, a battle was fought between them and the Israelites, in which the latter were defeated and Saul was slain.* His son Ishbosheth—properly named Esh-baal†—was immediately acknowledged as his successor by most of the tribes, and established himself, from fear of the Philistines, at Mahanaim, in the trans-Jordanic region. David, on the other hand, was proclaimed king by his own tribe of Judah, and governed at Hebron.‡ This division of the one Israel, a presage of the later disruption, was put an end to by the treachery of Abner, Ishbosheth's general and counsellor, and by the death of Ishbosheth himself. David was acknowledged as king by all the tribes.§ It was soon to appear what he was. He grasped the reins of government with a vigorous hand. His first work was the conquest of Jebus or Jerusalem, which city he selected for his residence, and which, by transporting thither the ark of Jahveh, he also endeavoured to make the religious centre of the country.‖ After this he found himself involved in a series of wars which almost without exception were carried on most successfully by himself or by his commanders.¶ He held the Philistines in check and deprived them of all their conquests, extended the limits of his kingdom to the east and to the north, made Israel's name feared by the surrounding nations, and concluded an alliance upon honourable conditions with Hiram, the king of the powerful Tyre.** The home policy of David was in accordance with this vigorous attitude towards foreign countries. He had a brilliant court, several wives, a body-guard of foreign mercenaries, and an army well organized and excellently led. The history of his life,†† however, proves that it was not merely to combat foreign enemies that he stood in need of "the Crethi and Plethi"—as his guards were called—and of his army.

* 1 Sam. xxxi.

† 1 Chr. viii. 33; in consequence of a clerical error he is called *Isvi* in 1 Sam. xiv. 49.

‡ 2 Sam. ii. § 2 Sam. iii.—v. ‖ 2 Sam. v. 6—9, vi.

¶ 2 Sam. v. 17—25, viii. x., xii. 26—31.

** 2 Sam. v. 11; 1 Kings v. 1 seq. †† 2 Sam. ix.—xx.

It was only from constraint that Ephraim and the tribes more closely connected with it bore the yoke of the man of Judah. When his son Absalom—partly in consequence of David's weakness in the management of his domestic affairs—had raised the standard of rebellion against him, most of the Israelites deserted him, and he had only the bravery of his army and the cunning of his counsellors to thank for his restoration to the throne. Soon afterwards, when David unjustly favours Judah, many of the other tribes are ready at once to follow another rebel, Seba, the son of Bichri, a Benjaminite. Yet, in spite of these discontents, the reign of David upon the whole was prosperous and brilliant. And especially in after times, when his conquests had gradually been lost, and Israel, internally divided, was but too often powerless against the stranger—men remembered with pride and with sorrowful longing the son of Jesse, who from being a shepherd boy had risen to be king, had shown himself a man after Jahveh's own heart, and had made Israel great.

The memory of Solomon's reign was less pleasing. It is true that people could tell each other of his miracles of wisdom,* of the riches which he had accumulated, principally by trade with Ophir in conjunction with the Phœnicians,† of his splendid court,‡ and of the number of his wives.§ It is true that his palaces and the temple of Jahveh, which he had built at Jerusalem with the help of Tyrian artificers,‖ bore witness to his wealth and to the lustre of his reign. But at the same time men knew how dearly all this glory was bought. Too much of the spirit of liberty prevailed among the Israelites to allow them to accommodate themselves readily to the condition into which Solomon brought them. They had to pay heavy taxes and to serve in subordinate positions connected with the great works which the king caused to be executed.¶ For Judah and Ben-

* 1 Kings iii. 1—15, 16—28, iv. 29—34, x. 1—13.

† 1 Kings ix. 10—28, x. 14—29.

‡ 1 Kings iv. 7—19, 22—28.

§ 1 Kings xi. 3; Song of Sol. vi. 8.

‖ 1 Kings vi. vii.

¶ 1 Kings v. 13—16, xi. 27, 28, xii. 4 seq., but comp. ix. 22.

jamin these burthens were counterbalanced by the honour and the advantages which the king's residence in their midst afforded them. But the other tribes did not enjoy this compensation, and were therefore both discontented and envious of Judah. In Ephraim especially the disaffection increased more and more, and even in Solomon's lifetime led to open resistance.* The disaffected had no lack of religious motives to justify the aversion with which Solomon's government inspired them.† If we add to this, that although Solomon maintained the kingdom of David in its integrity, he entered into a humiliating treaty with Tyre,‡ and only with difficulty repressed disorder in Edom and Syria,§ then we can understand the important events which took place immediately after Solomon's death, and perceive also that posterity cannot acquit him of the blame of having caused them. The dissolution of the Israelitish state was prepared by this splendour-loving king, and was the unavoidable issue of the direction in which he moved.

The chronology of this period is not yet quite certain. The duration of the reigns of the kings of Judah and of Israel is stated; we can compare them together, sometimes correct one statement by the other, and in this way determine, at least with high probability, the chronology of Israel's history, after the disruption. Thus it is nearly certain that Solomon died in 978 B.C. But to him and also to David is ascribed a reign of 40 years‖—a round number, the accuracy of which is the less above suspicion in that it occurs twice consecutively. Nevertheless it is probable that both David and Solomon occupied the throne for a considerable time, and therefore we shall not be far from the truth, if we make the former begin to reign in 1058, and the latter in 1018 B.C. How long Saul, and before him Samuel, ruled the nation, cannot be gathered with certainty from the imperfect accounts of the 1st Book of Samuel. The most admis-

* 1 Kings xi. 26, 40.
† 1 Kings xi. 1 seq., 29 seq.
‡ 1 Kings ix. 10—14.
§ 1 Kings xi. 14 seq., 23 seq.
‖ 1 Kings ii. 10, 11, xi. 42.

sible, however strange it may appear at the first glance, is the belief that Saul began to reign only two years before the commencement of David's 40 years of royalty, and therefore in 1060 B.C.* Thus about two centuries (1280 or 1260 to 1060 B.C.) are left for the whole of the period of the Judges, including the time of Samuel's direction of affairs.

We have yet to glance at Israel's fortunes from Solomon's death to the 8th century before our era, from which we have started. The two books of Kings† are here our chief authorities. We shall for the present leave untouched the accounts regarding the prophets of Jahveh and their labours, however, which occupy so large a space in these books; they shall not escape our notice in the sequel. We have to do here only with the narratives about the kings and their actions. Every one will recollect the contents of those accounts. When, immediately after Solomon's death, the discontent of the tribes had ended in an explosion, through Rehoboam's obstinacy, there arose an independent Ephraimitic kingdom,‡ side by side with that of Judah, which then and afterwards remained true to the house of David. The destinies of the two kingdoms were somewhat different. Judah, governed, with short interruptions,§ by David's descendants, remained almost exempt from internal dissension. From this regular succession of its kings the small kingdom derived a stability which more than compensated for the advantages which the Ephraimitic kingdom possessed in the extent and fertility of its territory. Whenever the two kingdoms came into conflict—and this was not unfrequently the case—Ephraim generally proved stronger than his brother. For a time, after Amaziah's defeat‖ and before Uzziah ascended the throne,¶

* Comp. Note VI. at the end of this Chapter.

† 1 Kings xii.—2 Kings xix. ‡ 1 Kings xii.

§ 2 Kings xi. (reign of Athaliah). See further below with regard to Amaziah and Uzziah.

‖ 2 Kings xiv. 8—14. ¶ 2 Kings xv. 1 seq.

Judah even appears to have been subject to Ephraim, governed by Jehoash and Jeroboam II.* Once again, in the war between Syria and Ephraim (741 B.C.) the fall of Judah seemed imminent.† But these disasters passed away, and at the end of the 8th century Judah had, for some years, survived the fall of the northern kingdom.

Here, in the kingdom of Ephraim, after the authority of David's house had been cast off, it seemed as if no other could hold its ground. When, less than a century after the disruption (884 B.C.), Jehu, himself a usurper, ascended the throne, *ten* kings had already ruled over the kingdom of Israel, and among these there were no less than *four* (Baashah, Zimri, Tibni, and Omri), or, if we include Jeroboam, the founder of the kingdom, *five*, who had made themselves kings. Every change of dynasty was accompanied by frightful scenes of murder. The house of Jehu maintained its position for more than a century (884—770 B.C.), and produced upon the whole excellent princes. The Ephraimitic kingdom, however, was very much weakened and exhausted by the constant wars with Syria; but under Jehoash, and especially under Jeroboam II. (823—771 B.C.), it recovered itself, and even reached a high degree of prosperity. Soon after the death of the latter, however, civil war broke out again, at the very time when Assyria was extending its dominions, when even union could no longer have saved Israel. We have already called to mind‡ how the fall of Samaria, the capital, 50 years afterwards (719 B.C.), was prepared by more than one change of dynasty, and by repeated wars with Assyria, of all of which it may be said to have been the necessary result.

The author of the books of Kings, in giving us some particulars of the rulers of the two kingdoms, does not omit also to pronounce judgment upon them. "They did"—so he writes in reference to the kings of Judah—"that which was good" or "that which was evil in the sight of Jahveh."§ The kings of

* Comp. Note VII. at the end of this Chapter.

† Above, p. 35.

‡ Above, p. 33 sqq.

§ 1 Kings xv. 3, 11, &c.

Israel are constantly reproached because they "did not depart from the sin wherewith Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, made the people to sin,"* that is, kept up the bull-worship at Dan and at Beth-el. Here and there, however, he makes some distinction between them, and represents, for instance, Omri and his descendants as very much below their predecessors and successors.† If we would estimate this judgment at its real value, we should first of all reflect, that the author employs his own religious ideas as a standard; it does not appear that he transports himself back to the time of which he writes and judges the kings by the views and the development of their own days. We should therefore be acting wrongly, if we simply adopted his favourable or unfavourable opinion. But on the other hand it is evident that he does not go to work arbitrarily. It is an essential difference between the successive kings which he seeks to express by his general verdicts of "good" or "evil in the sight of Jahveh." The very same house of Omri which he so strongly condemns, was painted in the blackest colours as early as the days of Micah.‡ Therefore, when in a subsequent chapter we trace the religious development of Israel, we shall still be at liberty to make use, although with caution, of the judgment passed by the historians. Provisionally we derive from them the incontestable fact, that among the kings of Judah and of Israel some corresponded more and others less to the ideal of a pious ruler which had been formed during and shortly after the Babylonish Exile.

Our review of Israel's earlier fortunes is now completed. It has become evident to us that the nation whose religious condition was sketched in our first chapter, had lived a very troubled life. More than one turn in its history gives rise, even on our first acquaintance with it, to the supposition that that history also had its importance as influencing the nation's religious development. In the sequel we shall examine it from this

* 1 Kings xv. 26, 34, &c. † 1 Kings xvi. 25, 30. ‡ Mic. vi. 16.

definite point of view. But first the prophets of Jahveh claim our attention. They occupy too prominent a position in the picture of the 8th century B.C. to permit us to omit a formal investigation of the character of their work, in earlier and later times.

NOTES.

I.—*See pp.* 108, *n.* ‡; 118, *n.* *; 122, *n.* *.

In this note the chronological statements of the Old Testament, with regard to the history of Israel down to the end of the period of the Judges, must be subjected to a careful examination. Let it be taken in connection with the remarks made in Note II. upon Egyptian chronology, and in Note VI. upon the length of Saul's reign.

The chronology of the patriarchal history can be handled very well in passing. The statements as to the length, A. of the sojourn of the Israelites in Goshen, and B. of the time which elapsed between the entrance into Canaan and the establishment of the regal power, deserve to be expressly considered.

A. If we call the sons of Jacob who settled with their father in Goshen, *the first generation*, then, according to a number of passages in the Old Testament, and especially in the Pentateuch, it is the fourth generation that left Egypt under the lead of Moses and Aaron. See Exod. vi. 16, 18, 20 (comp. ii. 1; Num. xxvi. 59); Lev. x. 4; Num. xvi. 1, xxvi. 7—9; Ruth iv. 18, 19; and Colenso, *the Pent. and Book of Joshua crit. exam.* i. 96 sqq. The passages quoted differ somewhat from each other, but this is to be explained by the difference in lifetime between the persons whose genealogies they give. The Chronicler, who usually agrees with the Pentateuch (1 Chr. vi. 1—3, 18, 37, sq.,

&c.), gives in 1 Chr. vii. 20—27 a genealogy of Joshua, which places him in the ninth generation from Ephraim; this account, however, which is irreconcilable with all the other returns, and especially with Num. ii. 18, is not worthy of the slightest credit, and seems to be founded upon a misunderstanding. The data referred to entirely agree, on the contrary, with Gen. xv. 13, 16, where it is said to Abraham: "Know of a surety that thy seed (posterity) shall dwell as a stranger in a land that is not theirs. . . . *And the fourth generation shall come hither* (to Canaan) *again.*"

Now, along with, or rather opposed to, these genealogies, there stand the two passages which give the length of the sojourn in Goshen in figures: Ex. xii. 40, where that sojourn is fixed at 430 years; and Gen. xv. 13, part of which we have just cited, but which runs thus when quoted in full: "Know of a surety that thy seed shall dwell as a stranger in a land that is not theirs, *and they* (thy descendants) *shall serve them* (the inhabitants of that land), *and the latter shall afflict them four hundred years.*" It has been thought strange that the author of Genesis should have been inconsistent with himself, and therefore it has been proposed to fix the duration of the *generation* named in ver. 16 at 100 years; then ver. 13 would no longer disagree with ver. 16. But "generation" (Hebr. *dôr*) is employed here, as it is everywhere else, in its ordinary sense; and besides this, if the bondage lasted 400 years, not the fourth but the fifth generation would have returned to Canaan. Therefore, in Gen. xv. 13—16, the two mutually conflicting statements do actually occur in immediate juxtaposition.

The attempt has been made in more ways than one, to remove the discrepancy between the 400 (430) years and the fourth generation. The most natural way was (*a*) to suppose that the genealogies in the Pentateuch are incomplete and only contain the best known names. But this hypothesis, however simple it may seem, is irreconcilable with Ex. ii. 1 (Jochebed *the*

daughter of Levi; comp. Num. xxvi. 59). Besides, it would be very singular if *all* the genealogies contained too few, and yet all about the same number of names. And, finally, "the fourth generation" in Gen. xv. 16 is quite unambiguous.

Therefore resort was had (*b*) to another interpretation of Gen. xv. 13 and Exod. xii. 40, and frequently—in so far as interpreters found themselves at liberty to improve the Hebrew text of the Old Testament—to another reading of the latter passage. Let us begin by criticising this different reading. It is borrowed from the Samaritan text of Exod. xii. 40 ("the sojourn of the children of Israel and their fathers, that they sojourned in the land of Canaan and in the land of Egypt, was 430 years"), and from the Greek translation of this passage ("the sojourn of the children of Israel, that they sojourned in Egypt and in the land of Canaan, was 430 years;" according to another ancient manuscript: "the sojourn of the children of Israel, that they and their fathers sojourned," &c.). Paul agrees with this reading of the Greek translator, when, in Gal. iii. 17, he fixes the period between the promise to Abraham and the giving of the law at 430 years. Now, if we follow this reading, and consequently regard the wanderings of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob as included in the 430 years, then there remain—as we shall presently see—215 years for the sojourn in Egypt; then the difficulty connected with the four generations is, in fact, entirely, or at all events almost removed. But a sound textual criticism imperatively demands the *rejection* of this divergent reading. For, first, the two witnesses who support it do not agree together; secondly, the mention of the length of the wanderings *through Canaan* is altogether out of place in Exod. xii.; no one expects to find it there, in a narrative of the exodus from Egypt; on the other hand, the determination of the time which Israel spent in Goshen is precisely what is required here; thirdly, the ordinary text of Exod. xii. 40 is indirectly confirmed by Gen. xv. 13 (400 years). If we are not at liberty, then, to

alter the reading, cannot the two passages be *interpreted in another way?* This has been tried, but without success. Exod. xii. 40 was translated, "the sojourn of the children of Israel, *who* sojourned in Egypt," &c., and it was then thought that this first-named "sojourn" could be understood to include also the wanderings in Canaan. But this interpretation condemns itself, and is so forced and unnatural that it is now universally rejected. The different interpretation of Gen. xv. 13 is not quite so absurd: by the "seed" of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob can also be meant; by "the land that is not their's," Canaan, where they lived as strangers; by the servitude and the oppression, which are mentioned afterwards, the writer may intend the troubles and privations which they have already endured in Canaan. But upon closer scrutiny this explanation also proves to be inadmissible. Verse 13 does not speak of a state of things already existing, but of one that will arise, not of the present, but of the future. Verse 16 ("come *hither* again") also forbids us to understand "the land that is not their's" (ver. 13) as also referring to Canaan. It is undeniable, too, that in ver. 13—however "thy seed" may be interpreted—Abraham himself is in no case the subject, which must be assumed, however, by those who uphold the divergent interpretation.

The result of this inquiry is, that the discrepancy between the genealogies and the chronological statements is not to be adjusted. We must choose between them.

To be able to do this on good grounds, let us now examine Gen xv. 13 and Exod. xii. 40 more closely. At first sight the latter statement seems most worthy of credit; 430 is not a round number, and must rest, one would think, on accurate tradition. But this belief receives a severe shock when we compare the accounts of the sojourn of the patriarchs in Canaan. From Gen. xii. 4, xxi. 5, xxv. 26, xlvii. 9, it appears, namely, that 215 years, *i.e.* just a half of 430, elapsed between Abraham's arrival in Canaan and Jacob's departure for Egypt! Now it

must be admitted that the chronological statements concerning the patriarchs are irreconcilable one with another (we have only to reflect that according to these statements Jacob was an old man of seventy-seven when he fled to Haran), and, besides, are more than improbable in themselves: thus they cannot be taken as historical. But it is so much the worse for Exod. xii. 40, when the chronology presented there presupposes that of Genesis, and has evidently been formed by doubling the number of the years of the wanderings in Canaan. Thus it is now clear that the 430 years do not rest upon tradition, but are the product of calculation, and therefore probably belong to the latest redaction of the Pentateuch. The 400 years of Gen. xv. 13 precede the 430 chronologically; not content with this round number, a later writer has attempted to determine the exact duration of the sojourn in Egypt, and has communicated the result of his calculations in Exod. xii. 40.

Our choice is thus limited to Gen. xv. 13 (400 years) and 16 (the fourth generation). It is obvious that these two accounts exclude each other, and thus are not from the same pen; that one or other of them was added to the text at a later period. Without the least hesitation we hold the 400 years to be the chronological calculation which was subsequently added. It is easy to comprehend how it came to be made. A sojourn in Goshen so short as that intimated in ver. 16 was considered incompatible with the number of the Israelites at the entrance into Goshen and at the exodus (70 and 600,000 men). To account for their vast increase a longer residence of the strangers in Egypt was assumed. This postulate is adopted in ver. 13—very awkwardly, for, as it now stands, it asserts that the *servitude*, the *oppression*, lasted 400 years, at variance with historical probability and with all the accounts of the Old Testament (Exod. i. 8); this variance again proves that we do not judge incorrectly of the origin of Gen. xv. 13.

From Gen. xv. 13 now arose, in the manner just described,

Exod. xii. 40, which passage in its turn was modified by the Samaritans and the Greek translator, because it was considered by them — most rightly — to be irreconcilable with the genealogies.

As the purport of *the oldest tradition* regarding the length of the sojourn in Egypt, therefore, we have nothing left but that *the fourth generation* after the settlement there, again left that country.

B. With the duration of the period of the Judges I can deal more briefly after what has already been said of it above, pp. 117 sq., and *Hk. O.* I. 218—221. The main points of the inquiry are these.

According to 1 Kings vi. 1, the exodus falls in the year 1495 B.C., and the settlement in Canaan therefore in 1455 B.C. If, now, the beginning of Saul's reign be placed in 1060 B.C. (comp. Note VI.), then 395 years elapsed between the invasion of Canaan and the election of the first king.

If now we add together the x years during which Joshua stood at the head of the people and the elders who survived him led the Israelites (Josh. xxiv. 31; Judges ii. 17), the data given in the book of Judges of the duration of the periods of oppression and of the rule of the Judges, the forty years of Eli's judgeship (1 Sam. iv. 18), the twenty years of anarchy after Eli's death (1 Sam. vii. 2 a), the years of Samuel's rule (which again are nowhere given exactly)—then we get a much higher number, that of $x + 470 + y$, say 530 years, a difference therefore of 135 years from the former result obtained from 1 Kings vi. 1.

Proceeding upon the correctness of the statement in 1 Kings vi. 1, the attempt has been made in various ways to group the figures of the book of Judges in such a manner that they harmonize with the 480 years. Critics have actually succeeded in doing this, by regarding as synchronous periods which appear in the book of Judges as successive. Comp. *Hk. O.* I. 219 sq.,

where it is shown at the same time that this method is arbitrary, and that the result obtained by it is not of the least value: the outcome of the operation is decided beforehand and is then also actually obtained, one writer arriving at it in this way and another in that way. It cannot be asserted, therefore, that 1 Kings vi. 1 is supported by comparison with the chronology of the book of Judges. Judges xi. 26, also, is too vague, and moreover too uncertain with regard to its age, to allow anything to be based upon it.

Thus the question arises, whether we have not at our disposal other means of fixing the duration of the period of the Judges. Following in the footsteps of R. Lepsius, *Chronologie der Aegypter*, pp. 365 sqq., I have formerly drawn attention (*Hk. O.* I. 220 seq.) to the genealogies given us by the Chronicler. As has been pointed out in that passage, they agree in this, that they reckon nine to ten generations for the time between Joshua and David, both included. If they be accepted as complete and trustworthy, they tell against the accuracy of 1 Kings vi. 1, and in favour of the supposition that the number given there is *too high*. In the meantime the credibility of many of those genealogies, and especially of 1 Chr. vi. 39—43, 44—47, 33—38 (even when the errors which have crept in there have been removed), has through further research become more and more doubtful to my mind. I no longer venture to build so firmly upon them as I did formerly. Yet it remains probable that the Chronicler, in reckoning nine-ten generations between Joshua and David, does not go to work arbitrarily, but follows the existing tradition. Josephus, *Arch. Jud.* v. 11, § 5, agrees with him. The genealogy of David, Ruth iv. 18—22, is even shorter than that of the Levites in the Chronicler. In short, if anything can be gathered from the pedigrees in question, it is this, that the distance between Joshua and Saul is less than would have to be inferred from 1 Kings vi. 1. All depends, therefore, upon the question whether the Egyptian chronology—the only one with which we can connect the Israelitish—gives positive induce-

ment to shorten that period. The affirmative answer to this question will be vindicated in Note II.

II.—*See pp.* 121 *seq.*, p. 142.

It is a bold undertaking to decide in favour of one of the many systems of Egyptian chronology. So long as all the monuments are not yet discovered or their inscriptions deciphered, every system must be regarded as provisional. Flavius Josephus, Julius Africanus (in Georgius Syncellus) and Eusebius, who have handed down to us Manetho's figures, on which our inquiry chiefly depends, differ from each other in their data so greatly that the study of contemporaneous memorials alone can lead to certainty. Some of these have but lately been explained (by Chabas, *Mélanges Egyptologiques;* by Lauth, *Aegyptische Texte aus der Zeit des Pharao Menophthah* in *Zeits der D. M. G.* xxi. 642—671) or will be elucidated shortly (by Chabas, in the *Verhandelingen der Kon. Acad. van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde,* Deel II.). The opinion advanced here should not therefore be considered as definitive. For the moment the question is only, what may be regarded as most probable in the present state of research.

Could the question, under what Egyptian king and about what time the exodus of the Israelites falls, be decided by vote, the opinion expressed on p. 121 would have to be accepted without the least hesitation. Lepsius (*Chronologie der Aegypter,* I.; comp. Herzog's *Real-Encyclopädie,* I. 142 sqq.), Bunsen (*Aegyptens Stelle in der Weltgeschichte;* comp. *Bibelwerk,* I. pp. ccvii sqq.), Brugsch (*Histoire d'Egypte,* I. 176 sq.), Duncker (*Gesch. des Alterthums,* I. 294 sqq.), Chabas (*Mélanges Egyptol.* p. 43, ii. pp. 50 sqq.), Lauth (l.c. p. 652), Weber (*Gesch. d. Volkes Israel,* &c., I. 63 sq.), declare for Menephthah and the years 1321 to 1314 B.C. And Scheuchzer (comp. *Zeits. der D. M. G.* xiv. 640 sqq.), how much soever he differs from Lepsius, agrees with

him in considering it probable that the Israelites were still living in Egypt under Ramses II. Miamun.

At the same time, doubts, which in any case are worthy of consideration, are brought forward against the method pursued by these scholars. I refer to J. Lieblein, *Aegypt. Chronologie. Ein Kritischer Versuch* (Christiania, 1863). He adopts Manetho's figures just as they have been handed down by Julius Africanus, and in the same manner allows himself to be led by the figures in arranging the dynasties—next to or under each other. This cannot be explained more fully here without too great diffuseness. In this way he arrives at the result, that Ammenephtes, the third king of the nineteenth dynasty, *i.e.* Menephtha, successor to Ramses Miamun, reigned from 1114 to 1094 B.C.—a difference of more than two hundred years from the chronology of Lepsius, in consequence of which, of course, we can no longer affirm Menephtha's identity with the Pharaoh of the exodus. Now it seems to me that there are conclusive objections to this result. But I need not explain them here, for—remarkably enough—in fixing the year of the exodus Lieblein nearly agrees with Lepsius. He places it in the reign of king Oros (1355—1318 B.C.), Amenhotep on the monuments, who could thus be called Amenophis in Josephus; another surname of this Oros is Ma-nebra; hence it is that the new Sothis-period, which began in 1322 B.C., is called "the era of Menophres." (Lepsius and the rest, who place the year 1322 B.C. in the reign of Menephtha or Menophtha, assume that "Menophres" is an error of transcription, to be corrected by "Menophtha"). Now I cannot see how Lieblein can follow Lepsius in this chronology, while he hardly allows a single one of the arguments upon which the latter founds it to be valid. But since it appears that he arrives at the same result as that which we defend, further inquiry into this point may be regarded as superfluous.

Let it be here stated in one word that Reinisch (*Zur Chronologie der alten Aegypter* in the *Zeits. der D. M. G.* xv. 251—271)

places the exodus under Amenophis, whom he considers to have reigned from 1397 to 1378 B.C. His opinion, therefore, stands half way between the traditional chronology and that of Lepsius. Even could this serve as a recommendation, his determination of the length of the reigns of the kings of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties would have to be rejected on account of its internal improbability.

The attempt of Merx (Schenkel, *Bibel-Lexikon*, i. 59 sqq.) to maintain the ordinary chronology deserves a fuller criticism. It recommends itself by its simplicity. The fourth year of Solomon's reign, according to Merx, is the year 1004 B.C.; therefore the Old Testament (1 Kings vi. 1) places the exodus in 1484 B.C. Now, to find the Pharaoh of the exodus, he takes this course. The Egyptian king Sisak, who took Jerusalem in the fifth year of Rehoboam (962 B.C.) is given by Manetho as the first king of the twenty-second dynasty. Starting from this year, we must now count back 522 years to reach the exodus. If we do this, we actually arrive at a king Amenophis, who was preceded by a Ramses. The following are the lengths of the reigns of the preceding dynasties:

According to Eusebius.		According to Africanus.	
The 21st reigned	130 years.	The 21st reigned	130 years.
The 20th „	178 „	The 20th „	135 „
The 19th „	194 „	The 19th „	209 „
Together	502 years.	Together	474 years.*

The last king of the eighteenth dynasty is Amenophis III., who reigns forty years in Eusebius, and nineteen in Africanus; his predecessor's name is Ramesses. It will be observed that the year 522 before the taking of Jerusalem by Sisak really falls, according to Eusebius, in the reign of Amenophis, while according to Africanus the same year belongs to the reign of one of his predecessors, but still borders so closely upon the administration of Amenophis that we can say that the calculation comes

* Merx makes a mistake, and reckons 494 years.

out correct; the last king of the eighteenth dynasty is the Pharaoh of the exodus. To show Merx's opinion completely, I will add here that he fixes (p. 64) Amenophis' reign in 1463—1444 B.C., and that of his predecessor, Ramses Miamun, in 1524—1463 B.C., while he explains the difference which thus remains between 1 Kings vi. 1 (the exodus in 1484 B.C.) and the result obtained by him, in this way, that of the twelve generations which, according to 1 Kings vi. 1, lie between the exodus and Solomon ($480 = 12 \times 40$), the generation which left Egypt—not all at once, but gradually—is the first.

No one will deny these combinations the praise of great acuteness. The result gains still more in exactness, if—as, unless I be wrong, Merx should have done—the first years of Sisak's reign be taken into account: if it be assumed that he took Jerusalem in his eighth or ninth year, then 1444 B.C. really becomes the last year of Amenophis and of the whole of the eighteenth dynasty—according to the data of Africanus, which are decidedly the most accurate ($962 + 8 + 474 = 1444$ B.C.). But one great difficulty remains, which to my mind is weighty enough to lead us to disallow the entire hypothesis. When we compare together Josephus (*c. Apion*, I. 15, 26) and the lists of the kings of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties in Africanus and Eusebius, it is perfectly plain, to my thinking, that *Ramses II. Miamun*—whom Merx also makes the predecessor of the Pharaoh under whom the Israelites quitted Egypt—*belongs* (not to the eighteenth, but) *to the nineteenth dynasty*. It is true, that in Eusebius the order of succession is as follows:

XVIIIth Dynasty:		[In Africanus:	
12. Armaïs . .	5 years.	14. Armesses . .	5 years.
13. Ramesses .	68 years.	15. Ramesses . .	1 year.
14. Amenophat .	40 years.	16. Amenophat .	19 years.
XIXth dynasty:			
1. Sethos . .	55 years.	1. Sethos . . .	51 years.
2. Rampses . .	66 years.	2. Rapsakes . .	61 years.
3. Ammenephtis	40 years.	3. Amenephthes	20 years.]

Here, then, one could take the Ramesses of the eighteenth dynasty for Ramses Miamun. But in Julius Africanus, as appears from the parallel list, this possibility does not exist, for the said Ramesses, Amenophat's predecessor, only reigns one year. Besides, it is obvious that XVIII. 13 and 14, in Eusebius, are the same as XIX. 2 and 3, and therefore must probably be erased in one place or the other. The same phenomenon occurs in Josephus (l. c.)—whom both Africanus and Eusebius follow —and in such a way that we cannot doubt that *Ramses and Ammenephthis are in their proper place after Sethos*, and not before him. Josephus expressly says that Armaïs (XVIII. 12; in Africanus, Armesses, XVIII. 14) and Sethos are brothers, and that the latter, having expelled the former, reigned fifty-nine years; he, Sethos, was succeeded by Ramses, with sixty-six years (comp. Fruin, *de Maneth. Sebenn.* pp. 8 sq., 75 sqq.). According to the Egyptologists, this conclusion, gathered from the text of our Greek witnesses, is fully confirmed by the monuments.

In addition to this, a careful examination of Merx's opinion shows that it contradicts itself. He asserts that 1 Kings vi. 1 is based upon a calculation of the interval between the exodus and the building of the temple, reckoned by *generations:* 480 is 12×40. But if this be so, we cannot retain the number 480, since forty years are too much for one generation. We then remain nearer the original tradition in fixing the exodus in 1320, than if we place it in 1460 or 1480 B.C.

The preference given above to the opinion of Lepsius and others has now been sufficiently vindicated. With regard to the city Ramses (Exod. i. 11, comp. above, p. 123), I would draw attention to the fact that Brugsch (l. c. i. 129, 145, 156 sq.) believes that he has discovered it as well as Pithom in papyri of the reign of Sethos I., the predecessor of Ramses Miamun. Yet he does not hesitate to connect Exod. i. 11 with Ramses II., since he further takes it for granted that the latter completed the fortifications of the north-western border of Egypt, and, in

particular, embellished Ramses.—A discovery by Chabas (*Mélanges Egypt.* pp. 42—54; comp. Pleyte, *La Religion des Préisraélites*, pp. 72—77, 216 sq.) must also receive attention. As scholars believe that the Israelites can be recognized in representations of slaves at work, of the time of Ramses II. (comp. Merx, l.c. p. 65), so Chabas believes that he has read their name in papyri of the same time. Not the name of "Israelites" or "sons of Israel," however, but "Hebrews" (*Ibrîm*, in the Egyptian documents *Aperiu*). Brugsch (*Aus dem Orient.* II. 39 sqq.) reads *Apuru*, and also recognizes the Hebrews in this word. Perhaps it is prudent to await further research with respect to this discovery. It is by no means strange that the Egyptians should have called the Israelites "Hebrews;" it is rather remarkable that this designation also occurs several times in the narratives of the Old Testament concerning the sojourn in Egypt (Gen. xl. 15, xliii. 32; Exod. i. 15, 16, 19, ii. 6, 7, iii. 18, v. 3, vii. 16, ix. 1, 13, x. 3). Nor is there any difficulty in the fact that the *Aperiu* also occur on a monument of the reign of Ramses V., who reigned perhaps 60 years after the exodus. If, as the Old Testament itself asserts (Exod. xii. 38), many persons from other tribes attached themselves to the "sons of Israel" when the latter left Egypt, it is but natural that as many remained behind and continued to be denoted by the name of "Hebrews," which, in virtue of its signification, embraces not only the Israelites, but all those who had come "from the other side" (of the river Euphrates).

The wars of Ramses III., which we have mentioned pp. 141 sq., were waged from 1292—1281 B.C., according to Bunsen (*Bibelwerk*, I. pp. ccxxviii sq.); from 1288—1277 B.C., according to Brugsch (l.c. pp. 183 sqq.); from 1273—1260 B.C., according to M. Duncker (l.c. i. 143, 296, 376). This difference in chronology between scholars who otherwise follow one system, cannot surprise us, for Africanus and Eusebius only give the total duration of the 20th dynasty, to which Ramses III. belongs, and not the years of the reigns of the separate kings. With regard to

the remarkable monuments of this Ramses III., Brugsch, l.c. pp. 183—198, is worthy of study.

III.—*See p.* 126, *n.* †.

It is remarked, and not unjustly, by the defenders of the credibility of the accounts of the Pentateuch, that, as far as the number of the Israelites is concerned, they agree together. To the passages mentioned above (pp. 124 sqq.), Num. xi. 21, xxxi. 28, can also be added. The question, however, is whether this agreement can be regarded as a proof of the accuracy of the numbers. Here and there it rather awakens suspicion. Thus, *e.g.*, it is very strange that the enumeration upon which Exod. xxxviii. 25 seq. is based, gives *exactly the same* result as that which, according to Num. i., took place some months later. No less singular is it, that during the forty years of the journey in the desert, some of the tribes increase so rapidly, and others decrease as rapidly, while the total remains about the same (Num. i. xxvi.); the statement as to the number of the male first-born, Num. iii. 43, is also a source of great difficulty. Comp. Colenso, l. c. I. 84 sqq. But in addition to this, the same Pentateuch contains entirely discrepant data concerning the number of the Israelites. When in Exod. xxiii. 27—30 (Deut. vii. 22) it is said that Jahveh will not drive away the Canaanites all at once, "lest the land become desolate and the beast of the field multiply against Israel,"—when this expulsion must take place *gradually*, "until Israel be increased and take possession of the land,"—it is impossible that the writer had in contemplation a people of two-and-a-half millions of souls, which—as we shall see more clearly presently—would rather have been much too great than too small for Canaan. And when the author of Deuteronomy calls Israel "the least of all nations" (chap. vii. 7) and the tribes which inhabited Canaan "greater and mightier than the Israelites" (chap. iv. 38, vii. 1, ix. 1, xi. 23, comp.

vii. 17), the same remark applies to his expressions. It is true, the Deuteronomist elsewhere boasts of the multitude of the Israelites (chap. i. 10, x. 22, xxvi. 5), but this only makes it all the more apparent that he has formed no definite notion, and follows with great freedom now one and then another conception, according to the end which he has in view. In any case the opposition between Exod. xxiii. 27—30 and the accounts which speak of 600,000 fighting men remains, and therefore the Pentateuch does not by any means furnish us with the certainty of which we are in search.

Upon consulting the rest of the historical books of the Old Testament, we find in them most conflicting statements side by side. We can confine ourselves to a few instances. According to Num. xxxii. 21, 27, Deut. iii. 18, 19, Josh. i. 12 seq., the whole of the fighting men of Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh, take part in the conquest of Canaan; their contingent, according to Num. xxvi., must have amounted to 110,580 men (according to Num. i., rather less, 108,250 men), but according to Josh. iv. 12, 13, it amounts to 40,000 men.—The army brought into the field by the whole of Israel against Benjamin numbers 400,000 men (Judges xx. 2, 17). Just before, the band of 600 Danites who took Laish are represented in the same book (Judges xviii. 1, 16, 19, 30) as a considerable portion of the tribe of Dan, nay, as the tribe of the Danites; according to Num. xxvi. 43, that tribe numbered 64,400 fighting men!—Saul assembles 330,000 men from Israel and Judah against the Ammonites (1 Sam. xi. 8), and 210,000 against the Amalekites (1 Sam. xv. 4), yet the army with which he wages war against the Philistines is not larger than 3000 men (1 Sam. xiii. 2).—The numbering of the people under David results in showing that Israel could bring 800,000 men into the field, and Judah 500,000 (2 Sam. xxiv. 9). The numerical proportion of Israel to Judah, which was given so entirely differently in 1 Sam. xi. 8, xv. 4 (not as 8 to 5, but as 10, nay 20 to 1), surprises us

here, besides the enormous figures. But in addition to this, the result of the same numbering in the Chronicler is 1,100,000 men from Israel, and 470,000 from Judah (1 Chr. xxi. 5). Who will venture to depend upon such contradictory figures? Who does not recognize in them estimates in round numbers, derived, not from authentic records, but from the imagination of the writers?—The same uncertainty is found also in the books of Kings. By the side of the enormous figures in 1 Kings xii. 21, xx. 29, 30, 2 Kings xix. 35, stand the very moderate data in 1 Kings xx. 15, 2 Kings xiii. 7.—The Chronicler usually exceeds all bounds in his numbers (comp. *Hk. O.* I. 323), without however always being consistent with himself. While, *e.g.*, in 1 Chr. vii. 2 seq., 7, 40, the tribes of Issachar, Benjamin, and Asher, furnish respectively 87,000, 59,434, and 26,000 fighting men, according to 1 Chr. v. 18 the whole of the warriors of Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh, amount to 44,760: in the latter passage reference is made to official censuses under Jotham (757—741 B.C.) and Jeroboam II. (823—771 B.C.); if it be thought that on these grounds these returns may be regarded as trustworthy, then the much higher figures given by the writer elsewhere are condemned. This is also true of 1 Chr. xii. 37, where the same trans-Jordanic tribes send 120,000 combatants to David at Hebron. The whole list in 1 Chr. xii. 23—37, although seemingly accurate and detailed, is unworthy of the least credit: how can it be admitted that an army of 340,800 men assembled at Hebron? that Asher can have despatched 40,000, and Judah on the other hand 6800 men?

A careful study of all such numerical returns as we find in the Old Testament, leads to the conclusion that they afford us no certainty. They can be divided into two categories. The first includes the rough calculations, generally in round numbers, sprung from the imagination of the narrators; to these belong, among others, Exod. xii. 37; Num. xi. 21; 2 Sam. xxiv. 9, &c. In the second must be placed the lists and returns which appear

as authentic documents, but which nevertheless, as their contents prove, can lay no claim to credibility. They belong to the exigencies of the later historiography, which thought it necessary to adorn itself with the appearance of the greatest possible accuracy. Dozy has very rightly remarked (*De Israelieten te Mekka*, pp. 210 sq.), that they can only be judged in the same way as the similar statements which we meet with in the Pseudo-Wakidi's and the Pseudo-Ibn-Qoteiba. The Chronicler, in whom we find most of these lists, stands upon a par with them as a historian. But the author of Num. i. xxvi. and the passages of the same purport also belongs to this second category —as shall be expressly proved hereafter.

The positive grounds which plead against the credibility of Exod. xii. 37 and the passages last quoted, have already been pointed out above (p. 125). We need not enlarge here upon the exodus from Egypt, the passage through the Red Sea and the wanderings in the desert: it is obvious enough that these facts do not become possible until we considerably reduce the number of the Israelites. The *partial* conquest of Canaan is also a real objection to their great number: how could a people of from two to three million souls fight so long for supremacy in Canaan? Having once penetrated into the land, it must speedily have established itself as the ruling nation. The strongest proof to the contrary, however, is derived from the size of Canaan. Following in the footsteps of Rosenmüller (*Alterthumskunde*, ii. 1, pp. 85 sq., 243 sqq.), Movers, Von Raumer and others assume that the land on this and the other side of the Jordan had a superficial area of 465 square miles. In another passage in his work (*Palästina*, p. 81, comp. 22) Von Raumer estimates the size of David's kingdom at 500 square miles. Let us follow the latter computation, which is decidedly exaggerated; let us assume further that Palestine was one of the most thickly populated lands and thus had 6000 inhabitants to the square mile—then we get no higher than a population

of three million souls, among which, be it observed, are also included the tribes that lived in Canaan besides the Israelites. Even were we willing to assume that Israel united under David was so numerous, it would follow that the Israelites who penetrated into Canaan under Joshua formed a much smaller people: see above, pp. 136, 146 sq., and Notes IV. and V. So much the more exaggerated do the statements of the Pentateuch prove to be, when—in accordance with the natural character of Canaan—we imagine David's territory to have been much less thickly populated, and therefore the number of his subjects to have been much smaller.

The arguments with which Von Raumer (l.c. pp. 428—443) endeavours to justify the accuracy of the data connected with David's numbering of the people (2 Sam. xxiv. 9) deserve no serious refutation. Great exaggeration unmistakably prevails in the well-known passages of Flavius Josephus concerning the population of Galilee (*Bell. Jud.* iii. cap. 3, § 2; *de Vita sua*, § 45).

IV.—*See p.* 136, *n.* ‡; *p.* 138, *n.* §, *comp. p.* 110, *n* †; *p.* 111, *n.* *.

In the review of the Old Testament accounts relating to Caleb, various particulars occur which require explanation or proof. This is especially the case with what has been said of the Chronicler. This note is intended to supply this want, and can at the same time serve to place in a clear light the meaning and the origin of the genealogies which we meet with here and there in the Old Testament.

I. We need only dwell for a moment upon the manner in which the Chronicler connects the tribe of *Kenaz* with Judah. In 1 Chr. iv. 1 he names five sons of Judah, and in verse 21 a sixth, Shelah. Now in vv. 2—20 various persons and families are enumerated, which, according to the author, are certainly descended from those five sons of Judah, although we are told nothing further

of the relation in which they stand to them. Thus *Kenaz*, also, who appears in v. 13 as the father of Othniel and Seraiah, is, in the intention of the author, a descendant of Judah. Yet no other Kenaz is meant than the well-known tribe of that name, for he is called—as in Judges i. 13, &c.—the father of Othniel. Then, after some particulars have been given of Seraiah in v. 14, there follows in v. 15 *Caleb the son of Jephunneh*, whom we already know as a descendant of Kenaz or a Kenizite. Of him it is said, "the sons of Caleb were Iru, Elah and Naam, and the sons of Elah and Kenaz;" so at least must the original be translated, although the wording is sufficiently strange to awaken doubt as to the purity of the reading. The sons of Caleb who are named here do not occur anywhere else, except that *Elah* is mentioned in Gen. xxxvi. 41, 1 Chr. i. 52, as a division of Edom. One might imagine this similarity of name between the son of Caleb and an Edomitish tribe to be accidental, were it not that Kenaz himself, the father of Othniel and of Caleb himself, but who appears here (v. 15) as Caleb's son, is represented elsewhere as a division of Edom (Gen. xxxvi. 11, 15, 42; 1 Chr. i. 36, 53). We have already explained (pp. 135 sq.) how this must be understood. But then it does not surprise us that a tribe or family of Edomites are here made descendants of Caleb; we simply see in this a new proof of the fusion and combined growth of the nomads who wandered in the south of the territory of Judah and upon Seir. Nor does it seem inexplicable to us that the same tribe of Kenaz to which Caleb is usually referred, appears here rather as a son of Caleb: this is but another way of expressing the idea that Kenaz and Caleb are intimately connected.

II. In chap. ii. of his first book the Chronicler has included another independent document relating to the tribe of Judah. We will first take into view that which occurs there about Caleb. Verse 4 names *Pharez* and Zerah as sons of Judah; the former (v. 5) is the father of *Hezron* and Hamul; the sons of Hezron are (v. 9) *Jerahmeel*, *Ram*, and *Chelubai*. First some

details are given respecting *Ram*, which we can pass over here (vv. 10—17). Then comes the turn of Hezron's third son, who is not called Chelubai, however, but *Caleb* (vv. 18—20). What we are told of him is apparently family history. If, however, we reflect that Caleb's second wife, *Ephrath*, bears the same name as the district in which Bethlehem was situated, it seems very probable that here again combinations of tribes, migrations to another part of the common territory of the tribe, &c., are described under the form of family history. But we will read on. In vv. 21—24, we find in parenthesis some information about other descendants of Hezron, distinct from the three sons named in v. 9. It is only now that Jerahmeel, the eldest of the three sons, is taken up; vv. 25—41 refer to him. Then the author reverts to Caleb, whom he further indicates as "the brother of Jerahmeel" (v. 42), and who therefore is not different from Caleb in vv. 18—20, and Chelubai in v. 9. But observe that this Caleb is at the same time no other than the well-known son of Jephunneh the Kenizite. This is evident, firstly, from v. 49, where we read, "and the daughter of Caleb was Achsa;" comp. Judges i. 12—15, Josh. xv. 16—19; and secondly, from v. 42 seq., where the Caleb referred to here is brought into most intimate connection with Hebron, which city we know already as the inheritance of the son of Jephunneh the Kenizite. (Josh. xiv. 13, 14, &c.) If the reader will take the trouble to examine the verses just mentioned (42 seq.), he will no longer doubt as to what all these accounts mean. The cities Ziph, Mareshah, Hebron, Tappuah, Maon, Beth-zur, Madmannah and Gibea, are given there as descendants of Caleb; perhaps the rest of the names of descendants are also names of cities or villages, but they do not occur elsewhere. What, then, can all these genealogies mean, but that the family of Caleb gradually spread out from Hebron and peopled all these places, or helped to people them, and acquired a principal position in them? Should any one, even after reading Bertheau's excellent demonstration, *die Bücher der Chronik*, pp. 22—24, still doubt this, let

him study vv. 50—55, which furnish still clearer proof that here we have no common pedigrees. As sons of Hur—whom we already know as a son of Caleb and Ephrath from v. 19—there appear here Shobal (the father of Kirjath-jearim), Salma (the father of Bethlehem), and Hareph (the father of Beth-gader). But it is unnecessary to go further. It is evident that the words "father," "son," "wife" and "concubine" are used here quite in a metaphorical sense, to render in some measure clear and palpable relationships of tribes and families that are frequently very intricate.—But then this sheds the desired light upon the document which has been preserved to us in 1 Chr. ii. The author—not the Chronicler, but one of his predecessors—takes the tribe of Judah as he finds it, and makes the chief families descendants of Judah, the progenitor of the tribe. The Jerahmeelites, Kenizites and Calebites, in reality of foreign extraction and still recognized as such in David's time (comp. above, p. 137), had since become entirely fused with the purely Israelitish elements, and were no longer distinguishable from them. The progenitors of their tribe, Jerahmeel and Caleb, are now therefore, made great-grandsons of Judah. Historically and chronologically this is altogether wrong. But we need only transfer ourselves to the writer's standpoint and place in the genealogical scheme which was now fixed the reality which he had before his eyes, to understand at once how he necessarily conceived and represented things as he does in 1 Chr. ii. Fortunately, however, the older records, of which we find the remains elsewhere, teach us the historical course of the formation of the tribes, so that the statistical survey of the later author cannot lead us astray.

III. As in Gen. xv. 19, so also in Judges i. 11—15 and 16, the *Kenites* appear alongside of the Kenizites. They deserve closer examination, not for this reason alone, but also because the accounts relating to them are pre-eminently fitted to make clear the very intricate relations between the various nomadic tribes. I might properly be content with referring my readers

for information on this subject to Th. Nöldeke, *Ueber die Amalekiter und einige andere Nachbarvölker der Israëliten*, pp. 19—23, to whose careful discussion I have nothing essential to add. Its chief points I may give here. According to some passages in Exodus (chap. ii. 15, 16, iii. 1, iv. 19, xviii. 1), Moses, after his flight from Egypt, stayed for a time in Midian, and married the daughter of the priest in Midian (Raguel or Jethro). In harmony with this, Hobab, the son of Raguel, is called a Midianite (Num. x. 29). But in other places the same Hobab is called a Kenite (Judges i. 16, iv. 11, comp. 17, v. 24). If one statement be reconciled with the other, it is in this way, that part of the Kenites had attached themselves to the Midianites, and, in speaking loosely, were reckoned among the Midianites. But it is more probable that the writers in Exodus and Numbers mention Midian erroneously instead of Kaïn (= the Kenites); there is no trace anywhere else of such a connection between these two nations. The Old Testament rather connects the Kenites with *Amalek*. This happens especially in 1 Sam. xv. 6, where we read that Saul, before attacking the Amalekites, warned the Kenites, who were among them, in order that they might take timely steps to place themselves in safety; and also in Balaam's parables, where the Kenites immediately follow the Amalekites (Num. xxiv. 20, 21). Now the Amalekites lived—or rather wandered about—in the districts south of Judah (Num. xiii. 29, xiv. 25, and elsewhere). After the exodus from Egypt, they manifested great hostility to Israel (Exod. xvii. 8—16; Deut. xxv. 17—19; 1 Sam. xv. 2, 3)—a hostility which still continued in later times, and only ended with the total ruin of the Amalekites.

The Kenites showed a different disposition. A portion of this tribe attached itself to Israel (Num. x. 29 seq.; Judges i. 16, iv. 11) and settled in the territory of the tribe of Judah, while a subdivision continued their nomadic life in the north of Canaan (Judges, *ut supra*). If we reflect that those Kenites in Judah thus inhabited the same spots which, according to Gen.

xv. 19, they already occupied in the patriarchal times, the question arises in our minds, whether they moved to Judæa from the Palm-city (Jericho)—as Judges i. 16 relates, or whether they did not rather stay where they were, and help a portion of Israel to penetrate into Canaan over the southern border. However this may be, ever since the conquest of the country we see a part of the Kenites living with the Israelites and on the road towards fusion with them. We can also trace out in some measure when this fusion took place. Let us first remark that the Kenites *who remained joined to Amalek* were regarded as friends and spared by Saul (1 Sam. xv. 6), but are unfavourably judged in Balaam's parables (Num. xxiv. 21, 22), composed about 750 B.C.: it may be presumed that in the interval their relations with Israel had become less friendly. It was quite otherwise with the Kenites in the territory of Judah. On the one hand, they are still distinguished from Judah in David's time (1 Sam. xxvii. 10, where "the south of the Kenites" occurs, besides "the south of Judah"), but yet, on the other hand, they are regarded by David as friends and future subjects, and therefore receive presents from him (1 Sam. xxx. 29). In the document relating to the tribe of Judah, of which we have just spoken, and in which Caleb and Jerahmeel have already been made descendants of Judah, the Kenites are still separated in some measure from the rest of the people of Judah: it is said, namely, of "the families of the scribes at Jabez," "these are the Kenites that are descended from Hemath" (1 Chr. ii. 55)—as if the author would explain either the profession or the eminence of those families at Jabez by the mention of the fact that they belonged to the tribe that had rendered such important services to Israel in olden times. It is also deserving of notice that the ancestor of these Kenites is called Hemath, *the father of the house of Rechab.* In these few words a remarkable fact has been handed down to us. In Jeremiah's time the Rechabites distinguished themselves by the fidelity with which they obeyed the

command of Jonadab, the progenitor of their tribe, and abstained from wine and from agriculture (Jer. xxxv.). This Jonadab was a contemporary of Jehu, and was universally known for his zeal for the worship of Jahveh (2 Kings x. 15—17, 23); the vow which he made for himself and his descendants to continue the nomadic life was connected with this zeal, and tended to ensure his race against the temptation to apostacy which agriculture brought with it. Now it is evident from 1 Chr. ii. 55, that this Jonadab, the son of Rechab, belonged to the Kenites. Here, therefore, we find the remarkable phenomenon, that a family which still retained a certain independent existence, and had not become entirely fused with Judah, excelled the members of that tribe themselves in solicitude for the national worship, and could be held up to them as an example by Jeremiah.

V.—*See p.* 147, *n.* †.

My readers can convince themselves of the truth of this remark—which is also made by Nöldeke, l. c. p. 20, n. 2—by considering the following passages of the Old Testament. We may expect *a priori* that none but incidental information will be given us concerning the reception of foreign elements into the Israelitish nation. The authors had no interest in giving prominence to this fact; after the captivity they might, on the contrary, think it advisable to throw a veil over it. What they tell us, quite in passing, gives us the impression that a free and unobstructed intercourse took place between the Israelites and the Canaanitish and other neighbouring tribes, which naturally led to intermarriages, of which instances actually exist. The chief passages are the following. Among the Israelites in the desert there is a son of an Egyptian man and an Israelitish woman (Lev. xxiv. 10 seq.); I do not vouch for the truth of the

fact related here (comp. *Hk. O.* I. 155, n. 23), yet the author of the law must have imagined that such alliances were not rare in those days, and we have no reason for differing from him). In the period of the Judges a family removes from Bethlehem to Moab; the sons take Moabitish wives, one of whom, Ruth, migrates to Canaan and marries an Israelite (comp. the book of Ruth, which, in my opinion, is founded upon history; 1 Sam. xxii. 3, 4, also, contains a trace of connections between David's family and the Moabites). At Saul's court we find Doeg the Edomite as a royal officer (1 Sam. xxi. 7). Amasa, Absalom's general, is the son of Jethra the Ishmaelite and Abigail the sister of Joab's mother (2 Sam. xvii. 25, to be corrected by 1 Chr. ii. 17). Ittai the Gittite, *i.e.* the native of the Philistine city of Gath, lives at David's court; he is held in high estimation and commands part of David's army (2 Sam. xv. 19—22, xviii. 2, 5, 12). To David's *gibborîm* or heroes belong Ahimelech the Hittite (1 Sam. xxvi. 6); Zelek the Ammonite (2 Sam. xxiii. 37; 1 Chr. xi. 39); Uriah the Hittite (2 Sam. xxiii. 39; 1 Chr. xi. 41, and elsewhere); and Ithmah the Moabite (1 Chr. xi. 46). To this number perhaps Igal of Zobah (2 Sam. xxiii. 36; but in 1 Chr. xi. 38 the text runs differently) and Mibhar the son of Haggeri, *i.e.* of a Hagarene (1 Chr. xi. 38; but see 2 Sam. xxiii. 36) must also be added. There are weighty arguments (comp. Ewald, *Gesch. d. V. I.* I. 352 sqq. 3e Ausg.) in favour of the opinion that the royal body-guard, the Crethi and Plethi (2 Sam. viii. 18 and elsewhere), was composed of foreigners.

VI.—*See p.* 156, *n.* *.

In the *Godg. Bijdragen* for 1856, pp. 19—23, Prof. Hoekstra advances an opinion as to the length of Saul's reign which is every way worthy of consideration and seems to me to be quite correct. It amounts to this. David's reign at Hebron lasted

(2 Sam. ii. 11, v. 5; 1 Kings ii. 11) seven and a half years. It began after Saul's death and ended after the murder of his son and successor Ishbosheth (2 Sam ii. 4, v. 1). Ishbosheth's reign must therefore also have lasted seven and a half years. But in 2 Sam. ii. 10 we read, "Ishbosheth Saul's son was forty years old when he began to reign over Israel and *he reigned two years;*" for so it must be translated, and not, *and he reigned the second year,* as it stands in the States-translation.* How is this to be explained? In no other way surely than by supposing that the seven and a half years of David's reign at Hebron are obtained by adding to the two years during which he really lived there as king, the five and a half years which must have elapsed between his anointing by Samuel (1 Sam. xvi.) and Saul's death (1 Sam. xxxi.). During these five and a half years David was the king *de jure,* although Saul continued to reign *de facto.* From the moment that Jahveh had rejected Saul (1 Sam. xv. 26, 28) and "had given the kingdom to another, that was better than he" (2 Sam. xv. 28), from this moment that other, David, in the judgment of the theocratic historian, was to be regarded as the reigning sovereign. This conclusion, deduced from 2 Sam. ii. 10, 11, is confirmed in a manner that is truly surprising by 1 Sam. xiii. 1. The ordinary rendering of this passage ("Saul reigned one year, and when he had reigned two years over Israel") is grammatically untenable. We should read, "Saul was . . . years old when he began to reign, and he reigned two years over Israel." The author has either omitted to fill in the figures denoting Saul's age, or they have been dropped through the carelessness of one of the copyists. But it stands, quite unequivocally, that his reign lasted two years. Now this would certainly be incredible—let the reader think of Saul's wars (1 Sam. xiv. 47, 48) and his struggle with David—had it to be interpreted as referring to his actual reign. But it ceases to be surprising when we think of his lawful reign, which—according

* [*Note by Translator.*—The English Authorized Version, however, has: "and reigned two years."]

to the historian—came to an end when David was anointed. Five years and a half elapsed between this time and Saul's death (see above), so that *in reality* he reigned seven and a half years. Usually a longer reign is conjecturally ascribed to him, but there is not a single obstacle to the conclusion to which we are led by 1 Sam. xiii. 1. So much is certain, that Jonathan had already reached the age of manhood when his father began to reign (1 Sam. xiv.), and that shortly after this Saul's daughters, Merab and Michal, were marriageable (1 Sam. xviii. 17 seq.). If he had reached the age of fifty at the time of his elevation to the throne, his son Ishbosheth can have been forty (or about forty) seven and a half years afterwards (2 Sam. ii. 10).

So far as I can see, there is but one difficulty in the way of this entire view: the repeated mention of Hebron as David's residence during the seven and a half years (2 Sam. ii. 11, v. 5). But let it be considered that the five and a half years which elapsed between Saul's rejection and his death, could not be fitted in to any other period of David's rule than his reign over Judah. It is possible, also, that the compiler of the books of Samuel, with whom 2 Sam. ii. 11, v. 5, originated, assumed an *actual* reign of seven and a half years, although the older accounts adopted by him prove that this period must he curtailed.—The "long war" mentioned by 2 Sam. iii. 1 is no difficulty. A civil war of two years' duration is quite long enough.

VII.—*See p.* 157, *n.* *.

This temporary union of Judah with Israel must (comp. *Hk. O.* I. 254) be inferred from 2 Kings xiv. 8 seq., xv. 1, 8. Amaziah becomes king of Judah in 838 B.C., and reigns, according to 2 Kings xiv. 2, 29 years, therefore till 809 B.C. In this year, thus, his son Uzziah (or Azariah) must have ascended the throne.

Now (2 Kings xiv. 1) the first year of Amaziah was = the second year of Joash, king of Israel; thus the latter began to reign in 839 B.C., and, since he was king for 16 years (2 Kings xiii. 10), he must have died and have been succeeded by his son Jeroboam II. in 823 B.C. The year 808 B.C., in which, as we have already seen, Uzziah became king, was therefore the 15th of the reign of Jeroboam II. But what we read in 2 Kings xv. 1, that Uzziah began to reign in Jeroboam's 27th year, is at variance with this. Whence does this difference arise? We might attribute it to an error of transcription, were it not that 2 Kings xiv. 8 seq. led us to another solution. It is there related that Amaziah waged war against Joash of Israel, and suffered such a defeat at Beth-shemesh, that he himself fell into the hands of the victor, and the latter was able to enter Jerusalem in triumph. It is not added that Amaziah continued to reign after this defeat. On the contrary, we read in 2 Kings xiv. 17, "And Amaziah *lived* after the death of Joash, king of Israel, 15 years." We naturally bring this into connection with the chronological divergence which we observed just now in 2 Kings xv. 1. If we assume that the battle at Beth-shemesh was fought in 827 B.C.—it may have been a year or two before or after, but this does not affect the main point—then Joash must from this time have reigned over Judah also, and must have bequeathed the united kingdoms to his son Jeroboam II. in 823 B.C. Amaziah *lived* till 808 B.C., and thus the historian looks upon him as king down to that year; he therefore fixes his reign at 29 years. From 808 B.C., Uzziah is the lawful king for 52 years (2 Kings xv. 2). But in reality he begins to reign in Jeroboam's 27th year, *i.e.* in 797 B.C. It will be observed by the reader that in this way the conflicting statements are brought into harmony with each other without any violence. Other proofs, which can be studied in *Hk. O.* I. 254, and in the dissertation by O. Wolff which is mentioned there, also support the result thus obtained. When this scholar published his investigations, he was not acquainted

with Hoekstra's hypothesis, of which we have spoken in Note VI. The supposition that the Hebrew historians have attributed the years which the king *de facto* reigned, to the king *de jure*, has therefore forced itself both upon Hoekstra and Wolff, and this in studying different periods of Israelitish history: it derives so much the higher probability from this coincidence.

CHAPTER III.

THE ISRAELITISH PROPHETS BEFORE AND DURING THE EIGHTH CENTURY B.C.

"THE high places of Isaac shall be desolate, and the sanctuaries of Israel shall be laid waste, and I, Jahveh, will rise against the house of Jeroboam with the sword." So prophesied Amos about the year 790 B.C., speaking to the Israelites assembled at Beth-el. His bold language did not remain unnoticed. In fact, "Amaziah, the priest of Beth-el, sent to Jeroboam, king of Israel, saying, 'Amos conspireth against thee in the midst of the house of Israel; the land is not able to bear all his words; for thus hath Amos said, Jeroboam shall die by the sword, and Israel shall surely be led away captive out of their own land.' And Amaziah said unto Amos, 'O thou seer, go, flee thee away into the land of Judah, and there eat bread; there mayest thou prophesy! But at Beth-el shalt thou prophesy no more, for this is a king's sanctuary and a national temple.' Then answered Amos and said, 'I am no prophet, neither a prophet's son, for I am a herdsman, and gather wild figs. Yet Jahveh took me from behind the flock, and Jahveh said unto me, Go, prophesy unto my people Israel!'" . . . .

This is a scene from the period when Hebrew prophecy flourished, sketched probably by the very man who played the principal part in it.* The origin of this narrative and the various particulars which appear in it, render it eminently adapted to serve us as a text for the examination to which we now pass. We wish, namely, to become more intimately acquainted with the Israelitish prophets. We have already pointed out the grounds of this desire.† And now we have simply to follow the

* Am. vii. 10—15. † Above, p. 159.

hints which Amos gives in his narrative, to gain a tolerably complete view of their work in Hebrew society.

The prophet comes forward among the Israelites as a servant and envoy of Jahveh, but—he is no priest or temple minister. It is important to mark this, because out of Israel, in Egypt and in Greece, for instance, "the prophet" belongs to the officers of the temple—a first proof that we must not allow ourselves to be misled by the name by which we are accustomed to designate Israel's seers, and identify them with the men who are so called among other nations. Amos the prophet stands opposed to Amaziah the priest of the national sanctuary at Beth-el, dedicated to Jahveh. We notice the same relation elsewhere. It is true that some of the prophets of Jahveh were sprung from the priestly tribe of Levi, but this their origin did not confer on them their prophetic character. It is even far from unusual for them to address their exhortations and reproaches to the priests, as well as to the people. With regard to the sacrifices and the festivals in honour of Jahveh they have their peculiar ideas,* which clearly prove that they have not to live by the altar, and which, moreover, render very comprehensible a certain antagonism between them and the priests. Amos himself places the prophets upon a level with the Nazarites†—of whom more shortly—whilst according to Jeremiah‡ and Ezekiel§ they form a third class in addition to the priests and the wise men (or elders).

The account given by Amos, too, shows that this was actually the usual conception among the Israelites. Amaziah the priest advises him to go and practise his profession in his native country: "Flee to Judah and there eat bread." To which he retorts, "I am no prophet, neither a prophet's son," but directly summoned by Jahveh and charged with my present task. But this altercation requires further explanation in more than one particular. What induced the priest to treat Amos in this

* Above, p. 56 seq.

† Amos ii. 11, 12.

‡ Jer. xviii. 18.

§ Ezek. vii. 26.

manner? How could the latter deny that he was a prophet, and yet come forward as a prophet? What does he mean by "prophet's son"? We shall seek for an answer to each of these questions.

First of all, let us attend to *the names* by which the prophets are designated here and elsewhere in the Old Testament. We cannot, it is true, entertain very great expectations as to the result which this investigation will yield. Official names and titles usually remain in use long after the profession or the rank which they indicate has lost its original character; they give us thus but an imperfect idea of the sphere of action which they are supposed to describe. Yet if we keep this in view, we shall not incur the danger of falling into error, and there will still remain the chance that the customary form of speech may throw some light upon our subject. The most common appellation, then, rendered in our translation by the Greek word "prophet," is *nabi*, really *one inspired* by the deity.* What deity, is left uncertain: the Old Testament itself mentions prophets, not only of Jahveh, but also of Baal and of Ashera.† The person seized and fired by the deity falls into an ecstasy, either into so strong a transport that he entirely loses command over himself, utters sounds without clear consciousness, nay, actually resembles a madman;‡ or else into an excited frame of mind, in which he expresses with emphasis and animation that which the deity testifies to him inwardly. Such operations of Jahveh are ascribed to his *spirit* or breath (ruach), so that the *nabi* who experiences them can also be called a man *of the spirit*.§ The names of *seer* (roêh) and *beholder* (chozêh), which are assigned to him, might also be connected with that mental transport with which he is from time to time seized. One of the phenomena of the ecstasy is *the vision*, which we shall presently describe

* Comp. the note at the end of this Chapter.

† 1 Kings xviii. 19; 2 Kings x. 19; Jer. ii. 8.

‡ 1 Sam. xix. 24; 2 Kings ix. 11; Jer. xxix. 26.

§ Hos. ix. 7.

more fully. Is the prophet perchance called a "seer," because these visions are accorded to him? Many are of this opinion, and in recommendation of it they appeal to the use which Amaziah makes of that title against Amos: what can be more suitable in his mouth than a name which would about correspond with our "dreamer"? It is true that the priest at Beth-el can really have used the word in that less favourable sense. But originally, as we shall soon perceive, it had another meaning.

First of all, we must have recourse to history, in order to explain the phenomena which have just been brought to view. We have seen that the word "*nabi*" indicates some one who is in a certain condition, in that state of mental transport of which his appearance, his gestures, and his speech furnish proofs. But how then is it possible that this "nabi" has become the title of an office or profession? The ecstasy is surely, from its very nature, something entirely personal? It is self-evident that this difficulty can be solved only by history. We will therefore consult it.

The rise of prophecy falls in the time of Samuel. This assertion will certainly sound strange to many. What, will be asked, did it not exist long before this? Was not Moses a prophet, and had he not at least a few successors during the period of the Judges? Let us well understand each other. Moses is undoubtedly called a prophet of Jahveh,* and is already regarded by the prophets of the eighth century B.C. as one of their predecessors.† But to the question whether he possessed the peculiar enthusiasm which must be regarded as the proper characteristic of the "nabi," a record of the same period gives a negative answer,‡ and the Pentateuch in general never represents him as appearing in prophetic ecstasy. We can thus affirm, agreeably to the spirit of those accounts, that Moses was an envoy and interpreter of Jahveh, but that he was not a "nabi." The seventy elders upon whom the spirit of

* Deut. xviii. 15, 18, xxxiv. 10—12, &c.

† Hos. xii. 13.

‡ Num. xii. 6—8.

Jahveh descends in the desert,* could not be adduced as proof of the existence of a prophetic class in Mosaic times, unless we had better guarantees for the narrative in which they appear. Deborah also is called a prophetess,† but that which we read of her merely proves that she exercised great moral influence over her tribe, was consulted in difficult legal cases, and excelled as a poetess.‡ One more prophet appears in the narratives of the period of the Judges,§ but he is not a historical personage, and is only brought upon the stage by the historian—like the angel of Jahveh, which appears elsewhere‖—in order to place events in their true light. Were it, however, considered necessary to judge differently of the individuals of whom we have hitherto spoken, this much is certain, that they stood alone; before Samuel's time there was no prophetic order, nor even a large number or a regular succession of prophets. Nay, although a "man of God" appears in the narratives of Samuel's youth,¶ and Samuel himself is called a prophet,"** it is evident from other, more trustworthy, communications that at that time this name was not yet in use. In a remarkable note preserved in 1 Samuel, we are informed that those who were afterwards called "prophets" were previously, that is, still in Samuel's time, addressed as "seers."†† In conformity with this, Saul asks of the inhabitants of Ramah, "Is *the seer* (roêh) here?"‡‡ If, now, we reflect that Saul and his servant wished to obtain from "the seer" information as to the she-asses which they were busy seeking, and were troubled because they were unable to offer him a present;§§ if, further, we may assume that Samuel was certainly not the least among the men who were then called "seers," so that at all events we do no injustice in judging of them by that which we are told about him—we

* Num. xi. 16, 17, 24 seq.
‡ Judges iv. 5 seq., v.
‖ Judges ii. 1—5, vi. 11 seq., xiii. 3 seq.
** 1 Sam. iv. 19—21.
‡‡ 1 Sam. ix. 11.
† Judges iv. 14.
§ Judges vi. 8—10.
¶ 1 Sam. ii. 27.
†† 1 Sam. ix. 9.
§§ 1 Sam. ix. 6 seq.

arrive at the conclusion, that the Israelitish "seers," during the period of the Judges, did not rank much higher than the soothsayers among other nations of antiquity. Wherever the latter appear in the Old Testament,* they are sharply distinguished from the prophets of Jahveh, certainly with justice. But the contrast which in later times was and could be drawn, by no means proves that previously the resemblance was not very great. When the men who were afterwards called both prophets and seers as yet bore exclusively the name of seers, they were honoured and consulted—not, as was afterwards the case, on account of their zeal for the worship of Jahveh, but—on account of the knowledge of hidden things which was ascribed to them; and we do not hesitate to connect their name with this fact: they were called "seers" because they were believed to "see," or to "discern," more than the rest of mankind. In the same manner, in still later times, the soothsayers were called "those who know."†

But if Samuel also is to be classed with the seers, with what right do we affirm that prophecy arose in his time? We have already remarked that towards the end of the period of the Judges, interest in the worship of Jahveh must have increased in a striking manner‡—possibly under the influence of political circumstances, which were then very depressing. It is certainly not by accident that it is just in the narratives which relate to that time that we meet with two instances of the vow of the Nazarites, as it is called, by which the Israelite dedicated himself, or the parents their son, for the whole of his life to the service of Jahveh, the person so dedicated being bound to let the hair of his head grow, and to abstain from wine and spirituous drinks.§ Nor, if Amos connects the prophets with the Nazarites,‖ can it be by accident that in the history of Samuel's life

* Deut. xviii. 10 seq. and elsewhere.

† Hebr. *jid'oni* (Lev. xix. 31, xx. 27; Deut. xviii. 1).

‡ Above, pp. 151 sq.

§ Judges xiii. 4, 5, 13, 14; 1 Sam. i. 11 seq. ‖ Am. ii. 11, 12.

an association or company of prophets is mentioned for the first time? It was established in the neighbourhood of Ramah. That which we are told concerning it gives us the impression that the accesses of ecstasy were indigenous there, were awakened or fostered by music, and were readily communicated to others who came in contact with them.* It is, indeed, not quite certain, but still very probable, that this association—perhaps one of many—had just been formed at that time; that therefore, in other words, the ecstatic condition had just then arisen among the worshippers of Jahveh, had by degrees communicated itself to a larger number of them, and had led to combinations of the enthusiasts, and to exercises which kept up or revived their enthusiasm. We are surely not mistaken in believing that Samuel directed that religious movement from the beginning, and that the prophets had him in view when they chose Ramah, where he lived, as the place in the vicinity of which they should establish themselves. So much is certain, that Samuel stayed among them from time to time to an advanced age.† In this way, Samuel's was the ruling mind in the association at Ramah, and perhaps also in others which arose elsewhere; the enthusiasm, which, left to itself, might easily have run to all sorts of extremes, was confined within certain limits, and made subservient to the maintenance of Jahvism; the "seer," accustomed to practical work, the statesman, who was awake to the great interests of the nation, laid his hand as it were upon the newborn enthusiasm, in order to make it co-operate towards the attainment of the object at which he was aiming. In short, prophecy, by placing itself under Samuel's guidance, surmounted more easily the dangers to which it was exposed, especially in the period of its early growth, and, after having entered upon the inheritance of the seers, began a practical career, in which it was to carry off many a laurel.

Men such as Nathan and Gad, who attached themselves to

* 1 Sam. x. 5, 6, 10—12, xix. 19—24. † 1 Sam. xix. 18 seq.

David, and were influential during his reign, were perhaps educated in one of the prophetic schools—as it is the custom, however inexactly, to call those associations of prophets. With the people these associations found great favour: springing from the spirit and the wants of the times, they were constantly admitting new members, and continued to exist after Samuel had disappeared from the stage of history. It is true that 150 years elapse before the prophetic schools are again mentioned. In the reign of Joram, the son of Ahab, and in those of his successors (of the house of Jehu?), we find them at Bethel, Jericho, and Gilgal.* They are intimately connected with Elijah and Elisha, who are revered as "fathers" by the sons of the prophets, and make use of their assistance to carry out their plans:† thus they answered to the name of "prophetic *schools*" more than they did formerly. Are we to assume that in the interval regarding which the historical books are silent, the associations referred to first become extinct, and are afterwards restored, by Elijah for instance? We have no right to do this. As early as the reign of Ahab, mention is made of prophets in large numbers; they evidently live in one place; and, in a few instances, sons of prophets also appear.‡ There is absolutely nothing to show that Elijah brought all those prophets together. They appear rather as an order or corporation long since recognized, which ought to be consulted by, for example, the king upon undertaking a campaign.§ The silence of the historical books with regard to the continued existence of the prophetic associations is therefore purely accidental. Even after the time of Elisha they are not mentioned, and yet they still existed in the reign of Jeroboam II., as is evident from the words of Amos, "I am no prophet, neither a prophet's son," that is, I do not belong to the prophetic order, and have not been

* 2 Kings ii. 3, 5, iv. 38, comp. vi. 1.

† Comp. 2 Kings ii. 12, iv. 38, ix. 1.

‡ 1 Kings xviii. 13, xx. 13, 35 seq., xxii. 6 seq.

§ 1 Kings xxii. 6 seq.

formed in a prophetic school. It is quite uncertain whether they still continued to exist after the time of Amos. Nor do we know whether their constitution in Judæa was the same as in the kingdom of the ten tribes: the only thing certain is, that there also in earlier and later times were many prophets who undoubtedly associated themselves together in some way or other.

But the words of Amos which we have just quoted give us a right to draw other conclusions besides these. In connection with the warning of Amaziah, to which it is a rejoinder, it teaches us that the prophets and their associations were not regarded in a favourable light at that time, the beginning of the eighth century B.C. Amos does not consider it an honour to be taken for a prophet, and Amaziah clearly intimates that the seers made a livelihood of their prophetic gift. This can hardly astonish us. The supposition that the prophetic order, like any other, contained members of greater and less excellence, is one which speaks for itself. But here this was more serious than it would have been in other cases. Nothing was more easy and at the same time more innocent than to assume the outward sign of the prophet, the mantle of hair.* But this was not sufficient: zeal for the service of Jahveh, enthusiasm and higher inspiration, were indispensable. These, however, are not hereditary gifts, and as they could be found out of the prophetic schools, so there must constantly have been some among the prophets' sons to whom they were actually unknown. Nevertheless, it was considered that all ought to possess them, and men were thus tempted to supply the place of natural inspiration with artificial excitement, and to counterfeit the enthusiasm which they did not feel. The inward call, at the least, was indispensable to the prophet; the fact of joining the prophetic association presupposed, but did not guarantee this; and therefore of necessity the

* Zech. xiii. 4; comp. 2 Kings i. 8, ii. 8, 13; Matt. iii. 4.

association gradually degenerated. If, nevertheless, prophecy really attained its acme after that degeneration had begun, it was because it continually recruited itself from the same source from which the prophetic associations had once sprung—from the enthusiasm which arose, without artificial excitement, among the people themselves, as the fruit of their religion. "From behind the flock" Jahveh took a man like Amos, and thus there were constantly such men as he, who, without any designed preparation, came forward as envoys of Jahveh, because they had heard his summons in their hearts. The men whom Jahveh "awakened" to testify of him sprang from the humbler, but also from the most distinguished classes of society.

But this does not yet entirely explain the answer of Amos to the priest at Beth-el. It would in itself be quite conceivable that there was no difference between the shepherd from Tekoa and the rest of the prophets, other than a difference in zeal and true inspiration. We may even go further and say, that those who were regarded as envoys of one and the same god must *a priori* be assumed to have had the same ideas and aims. But we know already that this conformity did not exist. Rather did we find, in investigating the religion of the eighth century B.C., that Amos and those of like mind with him stood opposed to the great majority of those who in their time were called prophets and took pleasure in that name.* Furnished with this knowledge, we now without difficulty discover in the answer made by Amos the traces of this far more profound difference. But the more earnestly, then, do we put the question, whence comes this discord and division among the prophets of Jahveh? How is it that some of them diverge from the rest so much that they can scarcely bear to have the common title of "prophet" applied to them?

Once more it is history which gives us the answer. In the course of time prophecy underwent important modifications, but to the last and most important Amos and those of his views

* Comp. above, pp. 82 seq.

contributed, and the rest of the prophets not at all. I will here briefly justify this assertion; we shall revert to it elsewhere in connection with another subject.

As is well known, the relations existing between Saul and Samuel were of an unfriendly character. The prophets naturally followed their leader and guide: David found an asylum among them for a short time, when he fled before Saul.* The result of the course adopted by Saul was, that as long as he reigned the prophets remained among the opposition. But when David had ascended the throne, things altered. He was favourably disposed towards them. One of them, Gad, bears the title of "the king's seer;"† another, Nathan, is charged with the education of Solomon.‡ No doubt some danger was connected with these friendly relations: was it not to be feared that the prophets might lose their independent judgment, and, instead of the organs of Jahveh's spirit, become mere instruments of the king? On more than one occasion, however, this fear was proved to be unfounded. It is true that Gad and Nathan seem to have remained faithful to David when a great portion of his subjects deserted him.§ But when he had offended in the matter of Bath-sheba, Uriah's wife, it was Nathan who reproached him with his sin and announced Jahveh's judgments.‖ Nor was Gad afraid openly to condemn the numbering of the people ordered by David.¶ The prophets thus proved that they were inspired with disinterested zeal for Jahveh, and that their enthusiasm flowed from a pure source.

Moreover, the temptation to which they were exposed was but of short duration. The policy followed by Solomon** must have met with their disapproval, and it was not their nature to remain passive under it. The revolt of the ten tribes from the

* 1 Sam. xix. 18 seq.

† 2 Sam. xxiv. 11; 1 Chr. xxi. 9, comp. xxv. 5; 2 Chr. xxxv. 15.

‡ Comp. 2 Sam. xii. 25, and Thenius, *die Bücher Samuels*, pp. 199 sq.

§ Comp. 1 Kings i. 10 seq.

‖ 2 Sam. xii.

¶ 2 Sam. xxiv.

** Comp. above, pp. 154 sq.

royal house of David was undoubtedly countenanced by the prophets, especially by those of Ephraim: one of them, Ahijah of Shiloh, foretold to Jeroboam his elevation to the throne,* and by so doing brought to full maturity the plan which was already prepared in his thoughts. Even the prophets in Judah recognized the revolt of the ten tribes as just, if, at least, Shemaiah the man of God, who dissuaded Rehoboam from any attempt to restore the kingdom of his father,† expressed the opinion of them all.

So the two sister kingdoms now stood side by side. In both of them the prophets continued their labours, but not in the same manner. They were less numerous, apparently, in the southern kingdom than in the northern. In the former, moreover, the house of David remained in undisputed possession of the throne, and therefore no other power in the state could exalt itself to the detriment of the king. So the prophetic order, at least as a political power, continued to be insignificant. In the only revolution which occurred in Judæa, at the restoration of Joash to the throne of his fathers, of which Athaliah had robbed him, the prophets take no part: it is set on foot by Jehoiada the priest.‡ In the kingdom of Ephraim it was altogether different: there we see the prophets exercise on political ground an influence of the greatest consequence, which can only be explained by the supposition that they had the people on their side and worked in accordance with popular opinion.

It was not an unreasonable desire on the part of the prophets of Ephraim, that the king, who had them to thank for his elevation, should rule in their spirit. But they found themselves disappointed in this expectation. Even Ahijah had to set his face against Jeroboam's policy, and announced to him that the throne would not be hereditary in his family.§ Baasha heard the same prediction from Jehu the son of Hanani,‖ and Ahab

* 1 Kings xi. 29—40.
† 1 Kings xii. 22—24.
‡ 2 Kings xi.
§ 1 Kings xiv. 1 seq.
‖ 1 Kings xvi. 1—4.

from the mouth of Elijah.* So Jehu the son of Nimshi, at Elisha's command, is anointed king by one of the sons of the prophets,† and is afterward praised, by one whose name is not given, for the zeal with which he has executed the judgment pronounced upon the house of Omri.‡ In short, during the first century of the kingdom of Ephraim (978—884 B.C.), we find the prophets in continual opposition to the government. If they did not invite, they encouraged and authorized the constantly recurring changes of dynasty, with the scenes of murder which accompanied them. The people, instead of supporting them in that struggle against the government, would undoubtedly have thwarted and repressed their turbulent interference, if their own views had not essentially agreed with those of the prophets. It is true that according to the books of Kings they contended indefatigably against popular ideas§—for example, against the bull-worship introduced by Jeroboam. But we should never discover this from the acts of the kings who were placed upon the throne through their influence. Would a man like Jehu have maintained bull-worship, if Elisha and his school had unreservedly condemned it, as Amos and Hosea did a century later? It is, at the least, much more probable that the prophets of the tenth century B.C., while they zealously opposed the adoration of other gods along with Jahveh, and combated the worship of Baal, for instance, with all their might, were addicted to the same form of Jahvism which was approved by the large majority of the people.

We now understand better than we did before Amaziah's message to king Jeroboam II.: "Amos *conspireth against thee* in the midst of the house of Israel." The proceedings of his predecessors in the kingdom of the ten tribes, in truth, afforded readily available grounds for such an accusation. But it was a false charge which was now brought against Amos. When we

* 1 Kings xxi. 21—24. † 2 Kings ix. 1 seq.

‡ 2 Kings x. 30.

§ See the passages quoted in notes § and ‖ on p. 199, and note * on this page.

compare him and Hosea, and the rest of the prophets of the eighth century B.C. whose writings we possess, with Elijah and Elisha, we have no difficulty in discovering a great difference. There is no evidence of the former having set on foot, or in any way supported, attempts at political revolution. It is true, they have no respect for the reigning sovereigns and their courtiers; it is true, they lash their errors, of whatever kind they may be, without mercy; but they do this as preachers of repentance, not as popular leaders; they do not spare princes, for they spare nobody. Their object is evidently not to substitute one king for another, but to convert both prince and people. Therefore the only weapon of which they make use in the struggle against the popular sins is the living word. Thus they are, apparently, much less powerful than their predecessors had been. Their predictions are no longer respected by many as law, and carried into execution as quickly as possible. Their preaching leads to no practical and striking results. It is plain that they are no longer the organs of the public sentiment, and are therefore no longer supported by a large portion of the people: they stand almost alone at their post.

Whence does this great distinction arise? It cannot be accounted for by altered circumstances, but simply and solely by the inner development of prophecy. Not that *all* the prophets advocate a higher and purer conception of religion than their predecessors. On the contrary, most of them still agree with a considerable portion of the people, and therefore find themselves surrounded and encouraged by a large party, as their predecessors did before them. But opposed to this majority and its numerous followers there stands a minority, which takes another and considerably deeper view of the worship of Jahveh than the multitude. To this minority belong the prophets whose opinions we have already expounded in Chapter I., and may therefore here assume to be well known. At present we leave it undetermined how they had reached that higher standpoint which we

find them occupying; certainly the most obvious course is to regard their deeper and purer insight as a creation of the most eminent members of the prophetic order. Be this as it may, when the new conception had once been formed, other men of less originality could appropriate it, provided only that they did not lack the capacity for higher thoughts. The majority, however, remained faithful to their former views, and were encouraged in this by the people and, usually at least, by the kings, in whose estimation holy things—"the royal sanctuary and the national temple"—were impiously assailed by prophets such as Amos and Hosea.

The question proposed above has thus been answered, at all events provisionally. The inward development of prophecy, the progress of some, the stationary condition of the large majority —these were the causes of the division which showed itself among the prophets during the eighth century B.C.

We will now try to form an idea of the manner in which the most advanced among the prophets laboured, in Israel as well as in Judah. We cannot well assume that they combined with the rest of the seers, with whom they had so little in common, and, for instance, lived united with them at one place. It must, probably at least, have been the rule with them to move in society as ordinary citizens, and to carry on their calling, if they had one. We know of Isaiah that he was married,* and the passage which tells us the contrary of Jeremiah informs us at the same time that his unmarried life was the result of the unusual circumstances of the time.† As soon as any one was known as a prophet, there were sure to be a few who resorted to him, either now and then to consult him, or more regularly to be enlightened and instructed by him. Thus Isaiah speaks in one place of "disciples of Jahveh," who are his own confidants, and whom he adduces as witnesses,‡ while we often find Jeremiah in the company of Baruch the son of Neriah, who ren-

* Isa. viii. 3, 18, &c. † Jer. xvi. 1 seq. ‡ Isa. viii. 2, 16.

dered him great services and shared the dangers of his prophetic labours.* Yet this familiar intercourse with a few friends, however important a share it may have contributed towards the prophets' own formation, was not their proper task. This consisted in preaching. They appear in public, whether it be in the temple, or in one of the streets or squares of the city, or in any other much-frequented spot, and harangue the people who collect around them. At another time they address a particular individual—the king or one of the great men†—or a class of men, the priests for example, or the prophets.‡ Sometimes, too, it happens that they are summoned or consulted by the king. Of course, all this depended upon circumstances and upon the disposition of their contemporaries. It is also scarcely necessary to mention that the prophets spoke with more or less talent and more or less elegance, according to their birth and education. But whatever they uttered in their capacity as prophets, they proclaimed as *the word of Jahveh*, and desired that it should be reverenced as such. They commonly identify themselves entirely with the deity in whose name they speak, so that in most of their orations and writings the first person mostly indicates, not the prophet himself, but Jahveh.

How is this to be explained? We cannot assume—this will be shown more clearly presently, in so far as it may be necessary—that the prophets, while they spoke, were in a state of ecstasy, or in speaking simply reproduced that of which they had first become conscious in that state. Many, nay most, of their addresses are evidently studied and considered. But we must suppose that in general they were convinced that they were interpreters of Jahveh, and that this conviction had forced itself upon, at all events, by far the most of them in a moment of ecstasy. Two things must be kept in view here. In the first place, that the Israelites believed in a direct and immediate

* Jer. xxxvi., xliii. 3, xlv.

† Isa. xxii. 15—25.

‡ Jer. xxiii. 9 seq.

operation of Jahveh. They observed it in nature as well; everywhere they discovered signs of Jahveh's might. Where we are accustomed to institute an inquiry into the immediate causes of a phenomenon, the Israelite is ready at once with the affirmation, Here is God's finger, this hath Jahveh done. To quote passages to prove this would be superfluous; the whole of the Old Testament is full of them. In the second place, we must observe that the very manner in which the prophetic ideas and expectations originated readily led to their being derived directly from Jahveh. It would be a mistake to suppose that the seers acquired their ideas by constant and profound reflection. If those ideas had been the fruit of study, they would have found it difficult to explain them as the result of direct inspiration from above. But that was by no means the case. The Israelite is no philosopher. The prophet is suddenly enlightened as to what is duty under certain circumstances; the meaning of this or that event becomes evident to him, or he forms a conception of the future course of the destinies of his nation, by intuition; the ideas on behalf of which he strives so zealously present themselves to him as a power which overcomes and commands him. Thus it is, in fact, most natural that he does not regard them as results of his own intellectual efforts, but refers them directly and immediately to Jahveh. This was the more natural when the state of tension in which the prophet lived actually caused him to fall into an ecstatic and visionary condition, or when the thoughts which had occupied him by day came back to him with greater clearness in dreams. The vision is one of the distinguishing characters of ecstasy, and arises when the lively and excited imagination acts upon the nerves of sight (and sometimes of hearing also), in the same manner as the reality would in other cases, so that the person who is in this state does not doubt the existence of the objects which he imagines he beholds (and of the person whose voice he thinks he hears). There is therefore nothing miraculous in such visions

and dreams. They are fully explained, partly by the bodily constitution of those to whom they presented themselves, and partly by the sphere of ideas in which those persons were accustomed to move. And they revealed to them nothing which was properly new: all the elements of which they were formed were already present before. But the prophet himself felt that they were extraordinary, and therefore of great significance. He never thought of the possibility of explaining them physically and psychologically. He ascribed them simply to the immediate action of the deity, and therefore looked upon whatever became impressed upon his consciousness through such visions or dreams, or through meditation upon them, as a direct revelation. And again, the consequence of this conviction was, that the visions and dreams were regarded and sought after as something desirable. The mere wish to be favoured with them was often sufficient to obtain them, especially with those in whose neighbourhood such phenomena were not uncommon; for experience has taught that they are communicated from one to another, nay, that under extraordinary circumstances, ecstasy can become epidemic. Perhaps the prophets in later times also availed themselves of artificial means to excite the ecstasy, as Elisha had done formerly;* the music which they employed for that purpose we must imagine to have been very loud and stirring. But even if such a vision had only once fallen to the prophet's lot, for instance at the critical moment at which he decided to come forward publicly, the impression which it made upon him was never lost, and constantly revived in him the conviction that he had a right to speak to his contemporaries in the name of Jahveh.

When, now, the prophet proclaims "the word of Jahveh," he feels himself thoroughly at liberty to do this in the form and the way which appear to him to be the most suitable. In carrying out this he frequently makes use of a symbolical

* 2 Kings iii. 15.

action, which sometimes may have made a deep impression upon the surrounding multitude in whose sight it was performed. The Old Testament furnishes examples of such symbols in great numbers.* But—and this especially deserves our attention here—it is at least as common to find that the prophet imparts greater emphasis to his preaching by narrating either a symbolical event or act which in reality had never occurred, or a vision which he had not beheld.† Such narratives are thus the freely chosen garb of the prophetic idea, and may be compared to the parables which, as is shown also by the Old and New Testaments, are used so frequently in the East. In those fictitious symbolical actions and visions Jahveh himself appears, in order, for instance, to communicate his commands to the prophet, or to show him something and explain it to him. Therefore it is not so strange that, especially in earlier times, the garb was taken for reality, and that now many still defend this opinion which was formerly general. Men could not imagine that the prophets should have represented as commands or communications from Jahveh that which had not been impressed upon their consciousness in that shape, but had been cast into that mould by themselves. Yet it must be acknowledged that they have done so. In Amos and Hosea the use of such a garb is already very common. Thus, for example, the former said: "The Lord Jahveh showed unto me a basket of summer fruit (*kaitz*), and said, Amos, what seest thou? And I said, A basket of summer fruit. Then said Jahveh, The end (*ketz*) is come upon my people Israel."‡ The point lies in the similarity in sound between the Hebrew words for "summer fruit" and "end." Surely we have here the work of Amos' ingenuity, and not the result of a prophetic ecstasy. In other words, Amos had not

* 1 Sam. xv. 27, 28; 1 Kings xi. 29 seq., xx. 35—43, xxii. 11; Jer. xix. 1, 10 seq., &c.

† Jer. xiii. xxiv., xxvii. 2 seq.; Ezek. iv. v., xii. 1 seq., xxiv. 3 seq., &c.

‡ Am. viii. 1, 2.

really seen that fruit, but clothed in the shape of a vision his conviction as to Israel's approaching end. In the same way, chapters i. and iii. of Hosea cannot well be interpreted otherwise than as freely chosen allegories: the idea that Israel, by falling away from Jahveh, has incurred rejection, and must be brought to repentance by the temporary loss of all its privileges—this idea is expressed here in two narratives which, if we take them symbolically, are as transparent and striking as they would be unnatural and offensive if we were obliged to see in them a picture of the reality.

The reader need not be surprised that we have dwelt at some length upon this point. Assuredly the result obtained is an important contribution to our knowledge of prophecy. If Amos and Hosea, in the eighth century before our era, chose the forms of their preaching with such great freedom and art, prophecy was, even at that time, no longer in the first period of its development. To express it briefly, it had lost the *naïveté* of youth. It had come to be fully conscious of its vocation and to reflect upon the best way of fulfilling it. It had ceased to be a natural product. This is entirely in accord with our previous investigations: nearly three centuries lie between Samuel and Amos, a period long enough to explain this development. It is obvious, moreover, that prophecy does not lose in our estimation from the insight thus obtained. Had the prophets trifled with those forms of speech and of conveying their message, we should be right in blaming them for it. But the reverse is the case. They stand so fast in the belief that Jahveh speaks through them, that they consider themselves perfectly justified in giving to his word the form which they think most adapted for the purpose for which they are sent.

Indeed, the supposition that Hebrew prophecy had already reached a certain degree of maturity in the eighth century B.C., is confirmed from more than one quarter. Sufficient reasons exist for referring to that century some narratives in the Pentateuch, which one might call studies on prophecy. To these

belongs Numbers xii., where Moses, as far as his relation to Jahveh is concerned, is compared with the prophets, and prophetic revelation is described in its various forms.* Numbers xi. must also be referred to that time: there we find, among other things, the idea that a portion of the spirit which inspired Moses rests upon the prophets, and also the desire, that through the abundant communication of that spirit prophesying may become general among the people of Jahveh.† And finally, the remarkable narrative regarding Balaam is a product of the eighth century B.C., as we have observed before.‡ One of the author's objects is to compare the soothsayer with the prophet, and to display the irresistible power of Jahveh's spirit.§ Now it must surely be admitted, that questions such as those which are either expressly handled or cursorily touched upon in these narratives, could not have arisen before prophecy had become an established and sharply defined phenomenon, and that the endeavours to answer them—which are undoubtedly the work of *prophets*—bear witness to advanced reflection. Before men came to distinguish various grades of inspiration, to determine the relation between the lawgiver and the later prophets, to bring into view the dangers to which the position of the prophet exposes him, and to warn him against them—prophecy must already have passed through a long history.

But altogether independently of their contents, those narratives testify to the accuracy of the position which we have stated. Namely, they are written *by prophets*. And this reminds us that we have not yet named expressly the principal proof of the advanced development of Hebrew prophecy: *in the eighth century* B.C. *the prophet of Jahveh has become a writer*. From that century we possess a number of oracles committed to writing by the prophets themselves, and also important specimens of history as related by prophets.

* Num. xii. 2, 6—8. † Num. xi. 17, 25—29. ‡ Above, p. 102 sq.

§ Comp. H. Oort, *Disp. de pericope Num. xxii. 2—xxiv. hist. Bileami continente*, pp. 116—118.

It does not appear that the older prophets, Samuel and his contemporaries, and afterwards Elijah and Elisha and their disciples, thought of writing down what they had spoken, or of taking care that it was written down by others. We could scarcely expect that. As we have remarked before, they were men of action. Their object was to produce an instantaneous influence, and for this purpose they made use of speech; but as soon as their words had been pronounced they had done their duty, and could now be consigned to oblivion. It was quite another matter when, in later times, some prophets, themselves in possession of purer ideas, made it their object to effect an entire reformation of the religious and moral condition of the people. They must now have regarded it as a matter of importance that their words were read and meditated upon by those also who had not heard them. The sphere of their preaching was now from its very nature less restricted; that which was spoken at a certain time and for a certain audience could also be profitable in a wider circle. It was therefore natural for them to commit their discourses to writing. In doing this, as was to be expected, they did not go to work with slavish exactness. It was not their intention and their endeavour to repeat literally what they had spoken. In writing they kept in view the wants of a wider circle of readers, just as in speaking they had adapted themselves to the circumstances of the time and the capacity of their audience. Hence it is that many prophetic writings—beginning with those of Amos and of Hosea—contain rather a synopsis of that which the prophet had said on various occasions, than a verbal reproduction of his different discourses. It will again be readily granted that the appearance of the prophets in this new character proves that they have become conscious of the importance of their labours, and proceed to work with care and reflection.

And of this, finally, their labours in connection with the early history of Israel also bear witness. Their exertions in this department cannot easily be estimated too highly. Pro-

bably they are as old as prophecy itself. We have seen above* that the oldest prophets, in the time of Samuel, practised music in their assemblies. Instrumental and vocal music are generally combined in the East. It was thus in conformity with the nature of the case, that those prophets collected and recited the popular songs—mostly of historical purport—or re-cast memorable facts in the same poetical spirit. Thus the prophetic schools became, as it were of themselves, the repositories of tradition. In proportion now as prophecy developed itself, the conception of history also was necessarily modified. Of itself, as it were, the past appeared in a different light, after a higher and purer conception had been formed of Jahveh and of his worship. In connection with the prophets' views respecting the divine origin of their own ideas, it seemed to them quite certain that the earlier envoys of the deity also had known and expressed the same purified thoughts. In conformity with this, they explained the difference between themselves and the people by the people's fall from the greater purity which had originally characterized their belief.† In short, a peculiar conception of the course and the mutual connection of Israel's fortunes, or rather of the manner in which Israel had been guided by Jahveh, was the result of the development of prophecy. Once formed, this conception was received into the popular mind and propagated itself without difficulty. To this end the prophets themselves powerfully co-operated by committing it to writing. We have already noticed that a considerable portion of the historical narratives respecting the patriarchal and the Mosaic times, which we still possess at the present day in the Pentateuch, is the work of the prophets, and was written down by them as early as the eighth century before our era. The subsequent periods also are treated by them in the same spirit. With their narratives others were afterwards connected, of later date and sometimes of somewhat different tendency. Yet the chief

* P. 194. † Comp. above, p. 142, and below, Chap. IV.

features of the historical pragmatism of the prophets were preserved. It is the prophets who have given Israel her history. Every one will perceive how powerfully they worked by this means upon public opinion. Their preaching received a higher consecration and exercised more influence, now that they could appeal to history and come forward as the defenders of an old truth which had never been disowned without injury.

For the present we will not enter more deeply into the history of Hebrew prophecy. We had nothing more to do than to gain a knowledge of the most general outlines of this remarkable phenomenon. A closer examination of its internal development is reserved for the following chapters, as it is connected in many ways with the history of the religious ideas themselves. But already we cannot refrain from observing that the envoys of Jahveh among the Israelites afford a spectacle unique in the history of antiquity. "These nations, which thou shalt possess, hearken unto observers of times and unto diviners, but as for thee, Jahveh, thy god, hath not suffered thee so to do: Jahveh, thy god, will raise up unto thee a prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me: unto him ye shall hearken."* A writer of the seventh century before our era introduces Moses speaking thus: his words apply not to a single seer, but to the prophets in general. At that time, therefore, the Israelites were already conscious that prophecy, as it appeared among them, was an entirely peculiar phenomenon, a parallel to which was in vain sought for first of all among the inhabitants of Canaan. In truth they were not mistaken. We can even go further, and assert that it was also unknown to the other nations of antiquity, at least in the form and in the high state of development in which we meet with it in Israel. It has been said that the "nabi" is a phenomenon general in the Semitic race.† This is correct in so far as the conception of

* Deut. xviii. 14, 15.

† E. Renan, *Etudes d'histoire religieuse* (Paris, 1857), p. 278.

the relation between the deity and mankind which forms the foundation of prophecy, originated upon Semitic ground and readily took root among the Semitic race. But if it be meant that the rest of the Semitic nations too have had their "nabis," as well as and independently of Israel, then this cannot be admitted. Among the Arabians, the soothsayers (*kâhin*)* preceded Mahomed; that which they were able to relate of former envoys of the deity was taken from the Israelites, or at all events cast in the mould of the Old Testament; Mahomed himself has some resemblance to an Israelitish prophet, but then he was formed under Jewish influence and was acquainted with the writings of the prophets through oral tradition at least. Even the word "nabi" has probably passed from the Hebrew to the Arabian language. The "prophets" of Baal and Ashera, of whom the Old Testament itself informs us,† can only have had some unessential traits in common with those of Jahveh, at least with the later prophets of Jahveh.‡ In short, the Hebrew prophecy is indeed something quite peculiar, just as much as, for instance, the Greek philosophy. Just as the latter can only be explained by the character and the history of the Hellenes, so the turn of mind peculiar to the Israelites and the course—certainly no ordinary course—of their fortunes, must have combined to bring about the rise, and especially the later development, of prophecy in Israel. But if we take both into consideration, even this unique phenomenon is explained without difficulty. The sequel of our examination will suffice to furnish proof of this also.

* Comp. above, p. 99.

† Above, p. 190, note †.

‡ Comp., with respect to this and a few other particulars which require illustration, the Note at the end of this Chapter.

NOTE.

See p. 190, *n.* *; *p.* 212, *n.* ‡.

The want of contemporaneous records renders inquiry into the origin and the earliest history of prophecy difficult, and the result obtained from it somewhat uncertain. The later writers, in treating of former centuries, make use without hesitation of the word *nabi* (above, p. 191); even Abraham receives this title of honour (Gen. xx. 7, comp. xviii. 17 and Ps. cv. 15). But we should be wrong in inferring from this that *nabi* was in use in Israel from the earliest times; all that follows from it is, that these writers have fallen into anachronisms in this respect as well as in so many others. Yet their use of language would have led us astray, if we had not been set right by the, in a certain sense fortuitous, note in 1 Sam. ix. 9. Only it is to be regretted that this statement is so short, and stands so entirely alone: there still remains a wide field for conjecture. A knowledge of the etymology of the word *nabi* would naturally, in this state of the case, be of even more than usual importance to us; perhaps the word and its history can compensate in some measure for the want of information as to the thing. Therefore it will not be superfluous if we make here some remarks upon that etymology which could not be given in the text.

The common opinion is that *nabi* is a participle active, and means the *speaker*. I have pointed out in *Hk. O.* II. 3, 4, the difficulties which stand in the way of this view. I will now add, that the argument founded by Fleischer upon the form of the Arabic plural (*anbiáo*) completely falls to the ground, if we assume with Nöldeke, *Gesch. des Qoráns*, p. 1, n. 1, that the Arabians, as well as the rest of the Semites, borrowed the word *nabi* from the Israelites. The passages of the Old Testament

which are quoted in favour of the common opinion (Exod. vii. 1, comp. iv. 16; Jer. xv. 19) by no means support it. History is also against it, for however much there may still be that is uncertain in what history tells us, so much is established, that *originally* the "nabi's" task did not consist in speaking.

Nabi, then, must be interpreted as a participle passive, or as a participle of the neuter verb. Why the latter seems to me the most admissible, is set forth in the passage referred to. But since then, Land, *Theol. Tijdschrift*, II. 170—175, has proposed the interpretation of the word as a passive in another form, which is worthy of express consideration. According to him, *nabi* is derived, not from *naba*, but from the very common verb *bô*, which signifies to *enter*, to *walk in*; of this it is a participle in Niph'al, just as *nazid* (Gen. xxv. 29; 2 Kings iv. 38—40; Hagg. ii. 13) is of *zûd*. "The nabi is thus the object of an entrance; one into whom some one or something enters; here, of course, the life-giving breath of the deity. He is thus an ἔνθεος, an ἐνθουσιάζων ὥσπερ οἱ θεομάντεις (Plat. Apol. 22 C.)." Even should the derivation from *bô* meet with disapproval, the meaning of *nabi* would still remain the same, seeing that *naba* would have to be regarded as another form of *bô*, and therefore the participle passive of *naba* would express the same sense (l.c. pp. 172 sq.).

It appears to me that this etymology cannot be adopted, and for these reasons:—1st. *Nabi* is a derivative of *naba*. This is evident, not only from the forms Niph'al and Hithpa"el, but also from the substantive *nebûah*, "prophecy." Its form also points to *naba* as the root. Granting that *nazid* comes from *zûd*—one might also imagine a verb *nazad*—still this form stands entirely alone, and thus affords a very weak analogy in explanation of the form *nabi* as participle in Niph'al. Besides this, there is the fact that *bô*, although here and there connected with an accusative, is yet really neuter, and is never used either in Niph'al or in any other passive form. 2ndly. It is certainly possible that *naba* is another form of *bô*, but it is not probable. It must be granted to Fleischer (in Delitzsch, *die Genesis*, pp. 635

sq.), that the *nûn* belongs to the root, and is not prosthetic. It would be very strange, too, if no trace of this supposed additional form *naba* occurred anywhere in the whole of the Old Testament, except in *nabi* and its derivatives. The numerous examples collected by Fleischer support most strongly the supposition that in *naba* the first two consonants form the root. 3rdly. According to Land's etymology, *nabi* is "the person into whom some one or something enters" (rather, has entered). Independently of the difficulty arising from the neuter use of *bô*, this etymology seems very unsatisfactory. What right has he for adding, "here, of course, the life-giving breath of the deity"? Whence does it appear that it is just this that is the subject? We should then have to assume that originally the deity or the divine spirit was always added to *nabi*, and that this really indispensable addition was not omitted until later times—just as we say a man is "possessed," instead of "possessed of a devil." Such abbreviations are not without precedent. But *in casu* it is very improbable, (*a*) because *bô* is a verb of every-day use, and therefore very unfitted to be thus restricted without further explanation; and (*b*) because the notion that the deity or the divine spirit enters into a man is anything but usual or natural, at all events to a Semite. It would be quite another thing if—as is the case in the expressions adduced by Land, ἔνθεος and ἐνθουσιάζειν, granting that they mean *one in whom the deity is*, and not *one who is in the deity*—the supposed subject were expressed; if, *e.g.*, we had before us a word derived from *ruach*. On the face of it, I consider it inconceivable that the Hebrews—or the Canaanites, if the word be borrowed from them—should have called a person in whom the divine spirit manifested itself so powerfully, simply and nothing more than one who had been entered.

Nevertheless, there are many points upon which I agree with Land. First of all in the rejection of the common opinion which is combated above. But also in the supposition that the original

meaning of *nabi* will point rather to the natural basis of prophecy, than to its later, more spiritual development. In fact, if we examine the use of the verbal forms Niph'al and Hithpa"el in the Old Testament, we receive a decided impression that etymologically *nabi* would be rendered more accurately by μάντις (from μαίνεσθαι, to rave) than by προφήτης. See 1 Sam. xviii. 10 (where it is said of Saul, seized by the evil spirit, that "he prophesied," *i.e.* acted like a madman), xix. 24 (where Saul's prophesying is again described as a sort of frenzy, and, among other things, is coupled with the taking off of his clothes); Jer. xxix. 26 ("over every man that is mad and prophesies:" how is this combination to be explained, if not by the μαίνεσθαι of the prophet? Comp. 2 Kings ix. 11). It is true, these passages are few in number compared with those in which the verb means nothing more than to speak as a prophet, to prophesy. But they prove that the transport, the ecstatic impulse, is certainly involved in *nabi* and its derivatives, and forms there the principal and not the accessory idea. If this be admitted, further inquiry into the etymology of the word loses much of its importance for history.

Thus I consider it by no means improbable that the Canaanitish "prophets" preceded chronologically the Israelitish; in other words, that the Israelites *met with* the phenomena of transport and frenzy in Canaan among the worshippers of the gods of the country (comp. 1 Kings xviii. 22 seq.), and that it was not until afterwards and in consequence of this that these phenomena appeared among those who worshipped Jahveh. This opinion is connected with that conception of the relation between Jahvism and the religion of the Canaanites which will be advanced below in Chapter V., and therefore need not be set forth here. If the Nazarites—as will also be shown hereafter—are to be regarded as the opponents of the Canaanitish tendency, they stand opposed to the first Jahveh prophets, in so far as the latter formally followed or imitated the Canaanites. But whereas and

because this imitation was merely external, and was coupled with the maintenance of the principles of Jahvism, the Nazarites and the prophets must really be assigned to the same class; and, in fact, Amos, as has been already noticed, places them side by side (chap. ii. 11, 12).

If prophecy is of Canaanitish origin, its development in Israel consisted in its *spiritualization;* in other words, in the gradual diminution of the sensuous elements, and thus also of the artificial means by which it was excited, and in the increasing mastery acquired by spirit, by a self-conscious striving towards a definite end, over the influence of the senses. We do in fact find prophecy among the Israelites by degrees become calmer and more sober, so that at last the higher enthusiasm, the *élan*, almost disappears, and gives place to consideration and calculation: let the reader take for example Ezekiel and the later apocalyptic writers. This was just the danger to which prophecy, unless we be mistaken in our view of its origin and nature, was necessarily exposed—a danger, at the same time, which the Israelitish prophets in their prime managed to overcome. Then "the spirits of the prophets" were indeed "subject to the prophets," as Paul says (1 Cor. xiv. 32), but there was truly "spirit" in them—enthusiasm, not frenzy. For this happy combination of reflection and impulse they had to thank the might and the purity of the religious ideas to the proclamation of which they had wholly dedicated themselves.

Let the reader now connect this view with what has been said above, p. 194, of Samuel's influence upon the earliest Jahveh prophets. If the conjectures advanced there be not incorrect, then certainly Samuel's merits in the further development of prophecy cannot easily be estimated too highly. Then from the very first he pointed out the true direction, and opened up to prophecy its glorious career.

CHAPTER IV.

THE COURSE OF ISRAEL'S RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT.

WE are now no longer strangers to the ground which is covered by our investigations. We first observed the religious condition of the Israelitish people at a certain period, and we know what they had gone through in former times. We have now contemplated more closely the prophets also, who occupy so peculiar a place in the picture of that condition. We can now enter upon Israel's past and trace the religious development, of which we have the results before us in the people and the prophets of the eighth century B.C.

A long and dark road lies before us. Must we trust to chance in treading it? or can we determine beforehand the direction which we must take? We need scarcely point out how desirable it would be for us to be able to do this. We should have won much, very much, if we succeeded in marking out, as it were, the course of Israel's religious development. The investigation of details would by this means be rendered more sure and at the same time more simple. And should it appear afterwards that with respect to some particulars no certainty can be obtained, we should be able to acquiesce in this more easily, being furnished with a knowledge of the direction of the principal lines.

It seems to be not impossible to satisfy this wish. In this chapter the course of Israel's religious development shall be deduced provisionally and generally from the authorities which are at our disposal. Once more it is the writings of the eighth century B.C. which we use in preference. But of course we do not limit ourselves to them, and we draw, if necessary, from other records as well. We have not the slightest hesitation

in doing this, after our investigations in the two preceding chapters.

As we have seen, a religious struggle was going on in Israel in the eighth century before our era. The prophets and those of like mind are opposed to the great majority of the people; there yawns seemingly a deep gulf between their conviction and that of their opponents, who listen to their denunciations with indifference or answer them with persecution. But at the same time the two contending parties operate upon one and the same ground. Points of contact and accord are by no means wanting. The people do not wish it to be thought that they deny the position from which the prophets start—"Jahveh the god of Israel." It is only as to the meaning of that watchword and as to what results from it that difference of opinion prevails. Now such an antagonism refers us back to a common point of departure. The prophets and their adversaries would not have been able thus to stand side by side, and in a posture of opposition at the same time, if there had not lain behind them a period in which their respective convictions were as yet one. If since that period either one of the two parties has developed itself, and the other has remained stationary, or both parties have advanced, but in opposite directions, then, but then alone, can their subsequent relation to each other be satisfactorily explained.

It is, in reality, pretty generally acknowledged that such a common starting-point does exist. But when it becomes necessary to indicate it, great difference of opinion is disclosed. Keeping only the main point in view for the moment, we distinguish two theories in particular. According to the one, the religious conviction of the prophets is the original conviction, and the struggle between it and that of the people must be explained by a declension on the part of the people. The other, conversely, sees in the prophets' views the development of the conviction which originally was general in Israel and in later

times was still held by the majority of the people. As soon as we descend more into details, it becomes evident that both these theories are advanced in very different forms. According to one investigator, the monotheism of the prophets of the eighth century B.C. is properly as old as the human race, having been made known by revelation to our first parents; another sees in it a creation of the Semitic race, faithfully preserved by Israel, or rather by a few Israelites. The development which is assumed by the advocates of the other conception, begins with Moses, according to some, while others make it date from later times. But without involving ourselves in this dispute, we will first investigate generally which of the two theories is the most probable.

Let no one be surprised that we do not rather let the Old Testament itself decide. Nothing is plainer than that it does not let its voice be heard in this matter in an unequivocal manner. With regard to the age of the Jahveh-worship, to its spread beyond Israel, to the religion of Israel's forefathers, contradictory accounts were already in circulation in the eighth century as well as afterwards.* No attempt to bring them into harmony is successful. Besides, as we have already seen, the Old Testament narratives relating to the past can lay no claim to unlimited confidence. We ought undoubtedly to take them into consideration, but by themselves they afford no certainty.

If we consult historical probability and all that we know concerning the religious development of other ancient nations, our choice cannot remain long undecided: we then see that the ideas which continued to prevail among the people have become ennobled or purified in the religious conviction of the prophets.

* Comp., among other texts, Gen. iv. 26 with Exod. iii. 13 sqq., vi. 1 sqq. (as to the age of the name *Jahveh*); Num. xxii.—xxiv. (where, in opposition to the usual conception, the heathen Balaam is represented as a servant of Jahveh); Josh. xxiv. 2, 14 (Israel's forefathers on the other side of the Euphrates serve other gods; see, on the contrary, Gen. xxiv.); Ezek. xx. 5 sqq. (in Egypt also they serve other, namely Egyptian, gods; but see Exod. ii. 23—25); Am. v. 25, 26, &c. &c. With respect to this point also, every opinion finds its text in the Old Testament.

But it may be said—and, in fact, it is said—that Israel's history manifests a character different from that of all other nations. Has any one a right to assume such an exception to the general rule? or are there facts which plainly show that the rule is applicable to Israel also?

Without hesitation we answer the latter question in the affirmative. We must not anticipate our further investigations, and therefore we will confine ourselves to touching briefly on two such facts.

Attention has already been drawn to one of them in connection with another subject.* We see Amos and Hosea oppose the adoration of Jahveh under the form of a bull: so sensuous a worship was not pure, not elevated enough for the prophets of the eighth century B.C. More than a hundred years before, Elijah and Elisha had laboured in the kingdom of the ten tribes, truly no commonplace men, but worthy representatives of prophecy in the last years of the tenth and the beginning of the ninth century B.C. Their attitude towards the bull-worship was not the same as that of their successors: rather must we infer from the narratives concerning them and the kings who ruled under their influence, that they either approved of it or at all events did not oppose it. Here therefore we have an incontrovertible proof that the supposition of a progressive development is not forced upon Israel's history, but that the history itself suggests it.

There is a second fact which is less obvious, but which, when once noticed, bears quite as strong a testimony. It is not difficult to distinguish in the Jahvism of the prophets themselves—and, in a much higher degree, in the Jahvism of the laws which are ascribed to Moses, but which in reality are much more recent—elements of two different sorts, which we cannot indicate better than by calling them the spiritual and the sensuous. Jahveh is, on the one hand, a spiritual being, invisible, highly exalted above nature, over which he rules supreme; his com-

* Above, pp. 199 seq.

mandments concern the moral life of man; the standard by which he judges men's actions is a moral standard. But, on the other hand, we discover a certain likeness between him and the gods in whom natural objects are personified, both in the description of his being and his character, and in the worship with which he is adored. It speaks for itself that these sensuous elements—which we shall presently treat of expressly, and which therefore need not be described here—occupy in Jahvism a position different from that which they hold in the worship of nature; they are made subordinate to the spiritual elements and are reduced to the rank of symbols. But this does not release us from the obligation of accounting for their presence in Jahvism. Have they been adopted from this or that form of nature-worship? But such a derivation supposes an already existing relationship, and it can therefore at most help to explain elements which are evidently later additions; it does not at all account for the fact that sensuous and spiritual elements are interwoven everywhere in Jahvism, nor for the original relationship itself between Jahvism and the worship of nature. Must, then, these sensuous elements be regarded as an accommodation to the sensuous wants of the many? But it is not in this way, in consequence of reflection and calculation, that religious ideas and ceremonies usually form themselves. No, there is but one reasonable explanation of this two-fold character of Jahvism. That which now appears in it as symbolical was originally more than this; it has *become* a symbol; originally it was a reality. The figure employed by the prophets, in which Jahveh is associated with light and fire,* is not a comparison selected by free choice, but a proof that Jahveh was originally connected with those phenomena; the custom of offering or consecrating the first-born to him—of which Micah, among others, bears witness† —was not an arbitrary creation or borrowed from some form or other of nature-worship, but a relic of the former conception of Jahveh himself. It is only by assuming that these and similar

* Above, pp. 44, 45. † Mic. vi. 7.

elements have been retained from among the older sensuous ideas, that we can account naturally for the position which they occupy in Jahvism. They do not properly belong to the religious conviction of the prophets, but to the popular ideas. If, however, they occur not only in the latter, but also in the former, then that prophetic conviction must have been developed out of those popular ideas.

Thus we lay down provisionally as a fact, that the Israelitish popular religion is older than the monotheism of the prophets, and, compared with it, may be called the original form. We must therefore now, in proceeding with our investigations, start from the popular ideas and from that part of the prophetic ideas which is closely related to them. At what period that process of purification or elevation began, of which the prophetic conception is the result—what was its nature, who were the leaders of the change—all this, for the present, we leave undetermined. From the moment that we recognize the popular religion as the original form, it is plainly our duty to make it the special object of our study: the better we know the quality of the raw material which the prophets worked up, the easier we shall find it to form an idea of their spiritual labour.

At first the religion of Israel was *polytheism*. During the eighth century B.C. the great majority of the people still acknowledged the existence of many gods, and, what is more, they worshipped them. And we can add that during the seventh century, and down to the beginning of the Babylonish exile (586 B.C.), this state of things remained unaltered. Jeremiah could say to his contemporaries, without fear of contradiction, "According to the number of thy cities are thy gods, O Judah."* This polytheism of the mass of the people cannot be regarded as a subsequent innovation: on the contrary, everything is in favour of its originality. In the accounts of the preceding cen-

* Jer. xi. 13, ii. 28.

turies we never seek for it in vain. But—and this is decisive—the prophets' conception of Jahveh's being and of his relation to Israel is inexplicable, unless the god whom they now acknowledge to be the only one was at first only one of many gods. The relation in which Jahveh stands to Israel is the same as, for instance, that of Chemosh to the Moabites;* Jahveh would never have become Israel's special property, as it were, and would never have come to dwell exclusively in Canaan, if he had been held from the very beginning to be the only true god. That limitation is, on the contrary, extremely natural, if he was originally Israel's tribal god, who, as such, had many other gods beside him. Let the reader remember what we pointed out above,† that sometimes the prophetic utterances of the eighth century B.C. still move on the boundary-line which divides the acknowledgment of the one tribal god from the belief in the only God. The name *Elohîm* also comes into consideration here.‡ In spite of the plural form, the prophets use it to denote the one Jahveh. We may thus assume that this form admitted of an explanation not altogether at variance with Jahveh's unity. Yet there is no doubt that originally the higher beings, the objects of man's fear (*elôah*), were indicated by it, so that this name too avails as an argument in favour of a former plurality of gods. If from the very beginning the Israelites had represented to themselves the deity to be One, what motive could they have had for preferring to use a plural?

The position that the Israelites were polytheists from the very first is still, however, very indefinite. Of what character were the gods which they served? Did they venerate them all alike, or was there among their deities one which they honoured above the others? These questions are weighty enough to lead us to approach them on more than one side, and to attempt their solution in more than one way. Our result will gain in certainty if it forces itself upon us from various quarters.

* Above, pp. 40 sq. † Pp. 51 sq. ‡ Comp. p. 41.

We reflect, in the first place, that the Israelites do not stand alone among the nations of antiquity. They are a member of the great family of nations which we are in the habit of calling the *Semitic* family, after its supposed progenitor Shem, the son of Noah. Besides the tribes which the Old Testament derives from Abraham,* the inhabitants of western and eastern Aram (Syrians and Babylonians), the Assyrians and the Arabians, the people who dwelt in Canaan before and along with Israel, the Philistines, the Phœnicians, and the various Canaanitish tribes,† also belonged to this family. The Semites show some traits of resemblance to the Aryans or Indo-Europeans—together with whom they form the Caucasian race—but the difference between these two great families is no less striking. We will not now inquire how that difference shows itself in the constitution of state and society, in science, literature, and art, in order that we may confine our attention exclusively to religion. There has been much controversy lately with regard to the religious character of the Semites, and especially their monotheism. We all know the position, maintained with so much talent by Ernest Renan, that the Semites were monotheists by nature, by a sort of instinct. This opinion, expressed so absolutely, is untenable. To what one might call the universal, or at least the common rule, that religion begins with fetishism, then develops into polytheism, and then, but not before, ascends to monotheism—that is to say, if this highest stage be reached—to this rule the Semites are no exception. Still, it is not by chance that the three great monotheistic religions, the Israelitish, the Christian, and the Mahomedan, have arisen upon Semitic ground. Just as the gods of the Aryans, even when, after a higher development of religion, they were represented more as spiritual beings, did not deny their original connection, or rather their identity with the forces and phenomena of nature, so, conversely, the Semitic conception, from its very birth, has evinced a tendency to distinguish the deity from, and to elevate it above,

* Above, pp. 109, 112. † Comp. Gen. x. 21—31.

nature. The Semites prefer to think of their gods as rulers of nature. The names with which they denote them usually express the idea of *might* (El,* Shaddai†), and *dominion* (Adôn,‡ Baal, Molech); the *awe*, the *fear* which they inspire, finds utterance in the general designations of Elóah, Elohîm. It would thus seem that the Semite, in regarding nature, did not stop at the diversity of the phenomena, or apply himself to forming a pure conception of them each in its peculiarity, but that he rather received a general impression of the power which manifested itself in the phenomena and governed them, a power of which he himself felt the influence, and which he therefore looked upon as his ruler. This is not yet monotheism, it is even far from it, but it can lead to it. At first, as was natural, that dominion was attached by the Semites to some one or other natural object, to the heavenly bodies, especially the sun, the various effects of which were the most striking. If those effects were of two sorts, partly beneficent and partly destructive, it was natural to divide them between two "powers," or "rulers," the one favourably disposed towards man, the other severe and even hostile; the one revealing itself in the sun's fructifying warmth, the other in its scorching heat. Of course, the opposition between these two—which we can indicate provisionally by the names Baal and Molech—was not an absolute one: as they had arisen from the division of that which in reality is found in conjunction, so they could be combined again into a single deity. The same may be said of another duality which we meet with in most of the Semitic religions, and may regard as a characteristic of Semitism: to the male deity there corresponds a female deity, which represents, as it were, the reverse side of the same natural power. Thus fruitfulness is apprehended as the combined effect of a generating and a conceiving element, of the sun and the earth, of Baal and Baaltis (also Mylitta and

* See above, p. 41.

† We shall revert to this name further on, in Chapter V.

‡ Above, p. 42.

Ashera);* and beside Molech stands Astarte, that is, next to the scorching sun the chaste, austere goddess of the moon. History teaches us that the deities thus coupled together could also be again combined into a single deity. The individuality of the Semitic deities—entirely in accordance with what we should have expected—is in general much less sharply defined than that of the Aryan; precisely because they are more or less detached from the natural phenomena to which they are related, and collectively represent "might" and "dominion," they can easily coalesce and unite with each other, here in one way and there in another. Hence it is that the diversity of the mythological systems of the Semites is greater in appearance than in reality: the various forms of the deities can usually be reduced to a few fundamental types, which remain the same everywhere.†

We have now to ask, what position do the Israelites occupy in the Semitic family of nations? Their connection with all the members of that family is not equally close; they do not feel that they are related with equal intimacy to all. The list of Noah's descendants in Genesis x. furnishes a striking proof of this. There,‡ the Philistines, the Phœnicians, and all the Canaanitish tribes, are not derived from Shem, but from Ham the son of Noah. This is not historical: the close affinity between the Israelites and the Phœnicians is evident from, among other things, the fact that they spoke nearly the same language; but so much the more plainly does this pedigree teach us that the Israelites felt themselves strangers to the inhabitants of Canaan, and considered themselves to be raised far above them. This reason of itself suffices to render it improbable that their religion was originally intimately related to that of the Canaanites. On the other hand, we are justified in

* See above, pp. 88—93.

† Some of the points handled here are developed further in Note I. at the end of this Chapter.

‡ Verses 6, 14, 15—19.

assuming such an affinity with the religious ideas of the Terahites, that is, of the Edomites, the Ammonites and Moabites, and the Ishmaelites.* With a view to the object which we propose, it is therefore a matter of regret that we know so little of the religion of those nations. From the Edomitish proper names which are communicated in the Old Testament,† we may infer that *El* and *Baal* were the names of the deity most in use among the children of Esau; from later times we know of their god *Kozeh*,‡ a name of which we can only guess the meaning. Meanwhile we may apply to the Edomites and Ishmaelites that which Herodotus relates of the Arabians,§ that they worshipped two gods which the Greek historian indentifies with Dionysus and (Aphrodite) Urania; their native names are *Orotal* ("light" or "fire of El") and *Alilat* ("the goddess"); probably they correspond to Molech and Astarte. In connection with this, it is worthy of notice that *Milcom*,‖ or *Molech*,¶ appears as the principal god of the Ammonites, while the Moabites adore *Chemosh*,** who is probably akin to Molech, and at all events, like the latter, was worshipped with human sacrifices.†† The worship of these tribal gods did not altogether exclude that of other deities. We accordingly read that the "people of Chemosh," as the Moabites are called, worshipped the fertilizing power of nature as Baal-Peor.‡‡ Perhaps, however, they were influenced in this by the Amorites, a Canaanitish tribe which had appropriated a portion of Moab's territory,§§ and may have exercised influence beyond the limits of that portion. Even if this were not so, still this worship of Baal would afford no evidence against the conclusion which we draw from the fore-

* Above, pp. 140 seq.

† Gen. xxxvi. 4, 39, 43, 38, 39; comp. 1 Chr. xxvii. 28.

‡ Flavius Josephus, *Arch. Jud.* xv. 7, § 9. § Lib. iii. 8.

‖ 1 Kings xi. 5; 2 Kings xxiii. 13.

¶ 1 Kings xi. 7; comp. Note I. at the end of this Chapter.

** Num. xxi. 29; 1 Kings xi. 5; 2 Kings xxiii. 13; Judges xi. 24 (the only place in which Chemosh is called the god of the Ammonites); Jer. xlviii. 7, 13, 46.

†† 2 Kings iii. 27. ‡‡ Num. xxv. 1 seq. §§ Above, p. 129.

going, that the Terahites paid homage *in preference* to the severe deities destructive to mankind. Is not this applicable to the Israelites also? It is at least more probable than the reverse. But from this we derive nothing more than a presumption which in every way requires confirmation, before we can venture to make any use of it.

In order to arrive at certainty with regard to the consciousness which the Israelites originally had of the divinity, attention has been turned not only to their neighbours and kinsmen, but also to the land from which they sprang. Starting from the tradition that Israel's forefathers came originally from Ur of the Chaldees, and were settled for a time in Haran,* it has been asked, what was the predominant religion in those regions? But it seems to be more than doubtful whether this investigation can lead to the object in view. I need scarcely remind the reader that the accounts concerning the inhabitants of those regions which we are able to consult, throw no light upon the centuries which preceded the migration of the Terahites. That the religion of the Assyrians, nay, even of the much more recent Harranians, coincided with the worship which existed in their country many centuries before, is indeed possible, but far from certain. We therefore consider it safer not to follow this line of investigation. The result, besides, would differ little from that which we have obtained with respect to the Terahites.†

But why keep any longer to bypaths, when the straight highway lies before us? If we wish to know the original religion of the Israelites, surely we can consult their later religious ideas and ceremonies? We shall especially be able to arrive at certainty with regard to the proper character of their tribal god by studying his worship in later times. This method of investigation is suggested by the very facts upon which we fixed our attention above.‡

* Above, p. 105.

† Comp. G. Baur, *Gesch. der alt-test. Weissagung*, I. 108—122, and also Note II. at the end of this Chapter.

‡ Pp. 221 seq.

It is in reality our intention to proceed to apply it. But first we should point out a difficulty which presents itself here, and even appears at first to be so important that it threatens to frustrate the whole undertaking.

From the written records which have been preserved to us in the Old Testament, we are acquainted with three forms of *Jahvism*—under which name we include both the ideas which men formed of Jahveh and the proper Jahveh-worship. Those three forms are: the Jahvism of *the people*, of *the prophets*, and of *the Law*. If a minute description were here of importance, we should, of course, have to make still further distinctions: the popular conceptions in the course of centuries underwent important modifications; the ideas of the prophets developed themselves; various sets of legislation of earlier and later dates are, in reality, combined in the whole which we now call "the Law." But for the moment we can pass over all this. We wished to point out here that in none of these three forms has Jahvism come down to us entirely unmixed. For

The people acknowledged and worshipped other gods besides Jahveh, and thus fell naturally into what is usually called by a technical term *syncretism*, that is, into a combination and intermingling of ideas and customs which had originally been connected with various gods;

The prophets saw in Jahveh the only god, and so came naturally, as it were, to ascribe to him alone all the attributes and characteristics which in polytheism and by the people were distributed among the different gods;

The Law, finally, must—as will be evident further on—be regarded as a compromise between the popular religion and the Jahvism of the prophets; and in this is implied that in the Jahveh-worship of the law also there must be elements which originally belonged to the service of other gods: it is even to be regarded as *a priori* probable that these elements, borrowed from other quarters, should not be few in number.

It will have been perceived to what these remarks lead and

why they are made here. Our aim is to become acquainted with the oldest and original Jahvism. But how can we arrive at such an acquaintance, if Jahvism is nowhere to be found in a state of purity? How shall we escape the danger of taking for Jahvism that which, it is true, is connected with or adopted into it, but yet does not properly belong to it? This is the difficulty which immediately presents itself in this part of our investigation.

So long as we regard this difficulty in the abstract, we cannot be certain that it admits of being removed out of the way. It is quite conceivable that Jahvism has become so mingled with all sorts of foreign elements that it can no longer be separated from them: who or what could guarantee to us beforehand that this has not been the case? We have not to do here, however, with possibilities, but with realities. It actually appears, then, that Jahvism has fortunately escaped the danger referred to. The three forms described above present some strongly marked features, which are evidently connected together, and for various reasons may be regarded as the original property of Jahvism. If we succeed in pointing out these features, and in bringing to light their mutual agreement, we shall have furnished proof of our success in seizing and reproducing the features of Jahvism. There will afterwards be abundant means of showing that the remaining particulars, which were passed over at first, are not opposed to the use which has been made of the features to which we have referred.

But perhaps these introductory remarks have occupied us too long already. Let us proceed, without further prelude, to carry out the programme just set forth.

It will surely surprise no one that in beginning this investigation we at once fix our attention upon the ark of Jahveh. It is true that the prophets of the eighth century B.C. do not mention it, but nevertheless it is a fact that it was regarded for a long time as pre-eminently holy, as the true sanctuary of Jahveh. Let the reader recollect the narratives relating to the carrying

of the ark into the battle against the Philistines, when Eli was judge;* to its fortunes after it had fallen into the hands of these enemies;† to its removal to Jerusalem by David,‡ and to its reception into the temple of Solomon.§ The fact that these accounts relate to such early times is the very reason why we must not neglect them. Still they give us much less light than we had reason to expect. For it is our object to know the ideas of Jahveh's nature and character which, as a corollary from their attachment to the ark, the Israelites must have entertained. But for this purpose we should require to know for certain the form and contents of the ark. What the Pentateuch tells|| us upon this point is well known: the ark is there described as an oblong chest of acacia-wood, in which "the testimony," that is the law of the ten commandments, written upon two tables of stone, was deposited; it was closed by a cover of gold, at each end of which was placed *a cherub*, likewise of gold; rings also were fastened to the ark, through which the staves were inserted by which it was carried, but not before it had been carefully covered up. But when we pass from this description to the narratives in the books of Samuel and Kings which we have just mentioned, we discover that they are conflicting and divergent upon all points. Even the bringing of the ark into the battle is irreconcilable either with the letter or the spirit of the law; moreover the ark is not carried, but conveyed upon a waggon; we are not told anything about cherubim upon the cover;¶ and when Solomon puts up in the inmost sanctuary of the temple two cherubim whose wings overshadow the ark,** we see in this a proof that no such figures were attached to the

* 1 Sam. iv. † 1 Sam. v. 1—vii. 2 a.

‡ 2 Sam. vi.; comp. 1 Chr. xiii. xv. xvi.

§ 1 Kings viii. 4—9; comp. 2 Chr. v. 5—10.

|| Exod. xxv. 10—22 (xxxvii. 1—9), xl. 20, 21; Num. iv. 5, 6, 15; comp. Deut. x. 1—5.

¶ With regard to 1 Sam. iv. 4, 2 Sam. vi. 2, see Note III. at the end of this Chapter.

** 1 Kings viii. 6, 7, vi. 23—27.

ark itself. If it thus is clear that the Pentateuch gives us a later conception of the ark—which cannot have been completely constructed until after the Babylonish exile—then we are left no less in doubt as to whether it was really the repository of the law of the ten commandments. At all events at first it would seem that it was not. For the present we will altogether pass over the question whether the tables of stone existed from the days of Moses. But when we observe how the ark was treated and what effects were ascribed to it,* it becomes almost certain that it was held to be *the abode of Jahveh*, so that he, in some way or other, was himself present in it. Then only is it that we can explain the desire of the Israelites to have the ark with them in the army, their joy at its arrival, and its solemn conveyance to the new capital of the empire in David's reign. Now was the ark empty, or did it contain a stone, Jahveh's real abode, of which the ark was only the repository? This we do not know, although the latter opinion, in connection with the later accounts of the Pentateuch, appears to us to possess great probability. In this state of the case, of course, we cannot draw any entirely safe conclusions from the accounts regarding the ark and the place which it occupied in the worship of Jahveh. Still it does not escape our notice, that these narratives upon the whole bear witness to a not very elevated and somewhat sensuous conception of Jahveh's being. We no longer wonder at the silence of the prophets with regard to the ark—a silence which is only broken once, and then in a very peculiar manner;† the ark—not that of the Pentateuch, but the real ark—was but little in harmony with their spiritual ideas of Jahveh. Nor may we omit to observe that terrible effects are attributed to the ark,

* 1 Sam. vi. 19, 20; 2 Sam. vi. 6—9 (the Chronicler, 1 Chr. xv. 2, 12, 13, in conflict with the intention of the elder narrator, connects Uzzah's death with the transgression of the precept of the law with reference to the *carrying* of the ark).

† Jeremiah writes, ch. iii. 16: "When ye be multiplied and increased in the land, in those days, saith Jahveh, they shall say no more, The ark of Jahveh; neither shall it come to mind, neither shall they remember it, nor miss it, nor shall it be made again."

or rather to Jahveh who dwells in it. "Who is able to stand before the face of *Jahveh, this holy god?*" These words, put into the mouths of the people of Beth-shemesh,* represent very accurately the ideas which appear from these accounts to have been current with respect to Jahveh.—And finally, the cherubim merit our attention: even if the statement of the Pentateuch, that two such figures were attached to the cover of the ark, must be regarded as unhistorical, it cannot well be doubted that Solomon set them before the ark as guardians. Now the cherubim were very probably adopted from the Phœnicians, who in their turn had borrowed them from the Babylonians and Assyrians: the very name which they bear—derived from a verb which corresponds to our word *grijpen* (Engl. grip, gripe, seize)—shows their foreign origin. According to the mythology of these nations, they guard precious stones and gold, and drive away any one who would approach these treasures.† Therefore when Solomon and his architects put the two cherubim before the ark, they probably wished to express the idea that Jahveh is inaccessible to mankind; so that this symbol also points to a conception of Jahveh's character similar to that which we believed it was necessary to deduce from the narratives concerning the ark. When Jahveh is said in other passages of the Old Testament "to sit"‡ or "to ride§ upon the cherubim," we may perhaps infer from this that they originally represented the dark thunder-clouds which hid the thundering god from the eye of man, and that this their original meaning was not unknown to the Israelites also.‖ It may be said to be very appropriate that Jahveh's dwelling-place is overshadowed and hidden by forms which symbolize the black clouds behind which the deity itself is concealed.¶

* 1 Sam. vi. 20.

† Comp. Ezek. xxviii. 13—18.

‡ 2 Kings xix. 15 (Isa. xxxvii. 16); Ps. lxxx. 1, xcix. 1, comp. 4; 1 Sam. iv. 4; 2 Sam. vi. 2 (1 Chr. xiii. 6).

§ 2 Sam. xxii. 11 (Ps. xviii. 10).

‖ Comp. also Gen. iii. 24.

¶ With reference to the whole of this subject, comp. Note III. at the end of this Chapter.

But little value could be attached to the remarks to which the ark of Jahveh has led us, if they were contradicted by other less ambiguous phenomena. We shall find, however, that they are confirmed and at the same time defined more precisely by more than one fact.

Jahveh was worshipped in the shape of a young bull. It may not be doubted that the bull-worship was really the worship of Jahveh. The prophets refuse to acknowledge it as such,* it is true, but this proves nothing more than that their invisible Jahveh abhorred such visible representations: the priests and worshippers of the golden bull believed that they were worshipping Jahveh himself. Jeroboam I., too, the founder of the temples at Dan and Beth-el, calls the image made by him, "Thy (Israel's) god, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt;"† had it been possible to interpret the golden bull as the symbol of another deity, the narrator who tells us this detail would not have described it as a representation of Jahveh. It is another question whether we have a right to see in the golden bull an original, genuinely Israelitish symbol of Jahveh. It is usually considered to have been borrowed from Egypt. It is pointed out that Jeroboam had lived some time in that land before his elevation to the throne,‡ and that the Israelites had just left Egypt when they worshipped the golden bull in the desert.§ But although this coincidence makes some impression, there is so much counter-evidence that we must regard it as purely accidental. In the first place it is doubtful whether the bull-worship in the desert is historical; in the second place it is very strange that the deliverance of Israel out of Egypt‖ should be ascribed to one of the Egyptian gods; in the third place the bulls which were principally worshipped in Egypt were live bulls (Apis and Mnevis), which therefore we can by no means identify with the image of a bull adored by the Israelites; and

* Above, pp. 53, 73.

† 1 Kings xii. 28; Neh. ix. 18.

‡ 1 Kings xi. 40.

§ Exod. xxxii. 1 seq.

‖ Exod. xxxii. 4, 8; 1 Kings xii. 28.

finally it would be more than singular if a custom brought by Jeroboam from Egypt was immediately adopted by the whole of Israel. It is much more reasonable to suppose that the ten tribes who rebelled against Solomon's extortions and his leaning towards foreign manners and customs, introduced a genuinely national and ancient Israelitish worship. For this reason therefore it is very probable that Jahveh had already been worshipped under the same form during the period of the Judges.* Another thing has to be considered. That an image of Jahveh stood in the temple of Jerusalem has not only never been proved, but it is also very improbable; in the place where we should expect such an image to be, there stood the ark of Jahveh; but still there was in this temple no lack of symbols which remind us of the bull-worship and are evidently related to it; thus the great altar upon which the daily sacrifice was kindled had four horns,† and the great laver in the court, the so-called "brazen sea," rested upon twelve oxen.‡ So everything combines to make us look upon the bull as an indigenous and original symbol of Jahveh. Now we know from other sources that this emblem has its place in the worship of the sun. The bull properly symbolizes untamed power, especially the violence of the sun, its scorching and consuming heat. Thus Molech is represented with the head of a bull, while horns are the invariable tokens of Astarte.§ Therefore we certainly do not go too far in inferring from the bull-worship an original relationship between Jahveh and Molech.

It is obvious, however, that such a conclusion, as it is founded upon a single, although most significant fact, can only be admitted provisionally. The great question is, whether it is confirmed or contradicted by other phenomena.

It receives powerful support from more than one quarter. In the worship of Molech—as we will assume here and prove

* Comp. Judges viii. 27, xvii. 4, &c., and also Note IV. at the end of this Chapter.

† 1 Kings ii. 28; comp. Exod. xxvii. 2. ‡ 1 Kings vii. 25, comp. 29.

§ Comp. above, p. 90 seq.

afterwards*—human sacrifice occupies an important place. But it not unfrequently occurs also in the worship of Jahveh. When Micah introduces one of his contemporaries, a worshipper of Jahveh, speaking thus:†

"Shall I give my first-born for my transgression,
The fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?"

it is undoubtedly implied that in his days such a sacrifice was not looked upon as at all unreasonable; the prophet himself has other ideas of what Jahveh requires;‡ but if human sacrifice had been foreign to the service of Israel's god, he could not have mentioned it in this manner. The well-known narrative of Abraham's offering, Genesis xxii., probably written by an older contemporary of Micah, does not by any means recommend human sacrifice, but the disposition evinced in the sacrifice of a child, the readiness to give up even the most precious object to Jahveh, is highly extolled by the author;§ if Jahveh does not wish that disposition to be confirmed by the deed itself, still by his unqualified praise he makes known that it is no more than just and appropriate, and that what he does not desire he *could* demand from his servant. We are not surprised therefore that human sacrifice appears as an element of the bull-worship in the kingdom of the ten tribes;‖ that David, at the instigation of the Gibeonites, seeks to avert Jahveh's anger by the death of seven of Saul's progeny;¶ that Samuel hews Agag the king of the Amalekites in pieces "before the face of Jahveh at Gilgal;"** that Jephthah promises Jahveh a human sacrifice, and fulfils that promise by the immolation of his own daughter.†† A solitary instance of this nature would perhaps be susceptible of another interpretation; in their interdependence these various facts undoubtedly bear witness to the accuracy of the conclusion advanced above.

* See Note I. at the end of this Chapter.
‡ Mic. vi. 8.
‖ Above, p. 75.
** 1 Sam. xv. 33.
† Mic. vi. 7.
§ Gen. xxii. 16—18.
¶ 2 Sam. xxi. 1—14.
†† Judges xi. 30, 31, 34—40.

And this they do the more forcibly, in proportion as we find that other elements of the worship of Jahveh also are seen to be more closely connected with human sacrifice. First of all this holds good with regard to *the circumcision*. The prophets of the eighth century B.C. do not mention it. But it had already been long in use at that time.* Writers of the seventh century B.C. not only know it, but have also begun to insist upon the circumcision of the heart,† so that in their time it must have been applied in a purely mechanical sense, in accordance with the custom of the forefathers. We might infer from the narrative of the institution of the circumcision in Genesis xvii.—which, however, is of still later date—that it is an arbitrary symbol of dedication to Jahveh: as it is there represented, it is something entirely adventitious, and we do not at all see why this particular ceremony is to serve as a token of the covenant between El-Shaddai‡ and Abraham, together with his descendants. But even if the author of this narrative did not recognize any inherent connection between circumcision and the meaning which was attached to it in his time, originally the custom must have been connected in some way with the nature of the deity who was supposed to require it. In fact, we find in the Old Testament at least one account which bears witness to such a connection. Let the reader refer to Exodus iv. 24—26. When Jahveh assails Moses and seeks to kill him, his wife Zipporah circumcises her son and throws the foreskin to Jahveh, whereupon the latter lets Moses go. A strange idea, but one from which we have no hesitation in deriving the notion that circumcision was originally a bloody sacrifice to propitiate Jahveh. Perhaps its meaning was afterwards somewhat modified, and it was looked upon then as a purification by which the Israelite was rendered

* In narratives relating to the period of the Judges and the first kings (Judges xiv. 3, xv. 18; 1 Sam. xiv. 6, xvii. 26, 36, xxxi. 4), and even in a poem by David himself (2 Sam. i. 20), the Philistines are called in contempt "the uncircumcised."

† Deut. x. 16, xxx. 2, 10; Jer. iv. 4, ix. 25.

‡ Authorized version: *the Almighty God*. With respect to this name, see below in Chapter V.

fit to draw near to Jahveh. At all events it is remarkable that in other nations of antiquity it was only performed upon the priests.

The dedication of the first-born to Jahveh also merits our attention here. The prophets have no inducement to mention it, and do not do so. But in laws which differ greatly in age, Jahveh lays claim to the first-born of man and beast—sometimes to all, sometimes only to the *male* first-born.* Probably the firstlings of oxen and sheep were sacrificed at the feast of unleavened bread, and at the same time the first-born sons redeemed by an offering to Jahveh, or by paying a sum of money to the priest.† Now what follows as regards the nature of Jahveh from this custom—the history of which we will endeavour to sketch presently? It has been supposed that the Israelites dedicated to him their first-born—just as they did the first-fruits of the earth—because they looked upon him as the bountiful giver of all that is good, as the cause and source of fruitfulness. Taken alone, this interpretation‡ is very admissible, but it is irreconcilable with that which the Old Testament itself asserts in justification of this sacrifice. It gives an *historical* explanation of it: at the exodus from Egypt Jahveh slew the Egyptian first-born of man and beast, but spared those of the Israelites; from this period the first-born in Israel belong to him, and are either sacrificed in his honour or ransomed from him.§ Now we are already aware‖ that the narratives relating to the exodus and that which preceded it cannot be regarded as historical. All that we can deduce from them is, therefore, that at a *later* period the dedication of the first-born was brought into connection with the deliverance from the Egyptian bondage. Yet it is

* Exod. xiii. 2, 11—16, xxii. 29 b, xxxiv. 19, 20; Lev. xxvii. 26, 27; Num. xviii. 15—18, iii. 11—13, 40—51, viii. 5—22; Deut. xv. 19—22.

† Comp. *Theol. Tijdschrift*, I. 64, note 2, 67, note 1.

‡ Knobel, *Exod. u. Levit.* p. 128.

§ Exod. xiii. 11—16; Num. iii. 13, viii. 17.

‖ See above, pp. 123 sqq.

probable that while this was done, the original meaning of this custom was yet adhered to as closely as possible. But in that case Jahveh appears here again as a severe being, who must be propitiated by sacrifices, and induced not to exercise his right to the lives of men and beasts. In other words, we have the same idea of the character of the deity which lies at the root of the dedication of the first-born and of human sacrifice.

With all this we connect involuntarily, as it were, the prophetic utterances as to Jahveh's *holiness*. The very conception of Jahveh as the isolated, the inaccessible, the pure, the object of man's fear,* points to a being such as the ceremonies and customs which we have just examined lead us to suppose that the people worshipped. But much more evident still are the traces of some original relationship with Molech in the comparisons which the prophets are accustomed to make between Jahveh and *fire* or *light*.† As we have already remarked, they are too numerous to be looked upon as accidental, or as the result of arbitrary choice; and this is the less possible that the comparison also recurs continually beyond the prophetic literature in its narrower sense. Thus we read—and this in writings which belong to the eighth, or at all events to the seventh century before our era—that "the glory of Jahveh was *like devouring fire* on the top of mount Sinai,"‡ and that "his angel appeared in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush: the bush burned with fire, but was not consumed."§ Jahveh himself is called "a consuming fire, a jealous god."‖ A poet describes his appearance in this way:

> "Smoke goeth up out of his nostrils,
> And fire out of his mouth devoureth;
> Coals of fire are kindled by him."¶

* Comp. above, pp. 43 sq.
‡ Exod. xxiv. 17.
‖ Deut. iv. 24, comp. ix. 3.
† Comp. above, pp. 44 sq.
§ Exod. iii. 2.
¶ 2 Sam. xxii. 9 (Ps. xviii. 8).

Of course, we do not deny that the pious among the Israelites, in using these expressions, were aware that they spoke in metaphor. To them Jahveh had long ceased to be one of the many gods representing natural phenomena; in their eyes he is the only true god;* the sphere of his activity has extended itself; in his government of the world he possesses and displays attributes which do not proceed directly from his original character. We have already cited the proofs of all this.† To the question whether the Jahveh of the prophets is a counterpart to Molech, we have no hesitation whatever in returning a negative answer. But as fearlessly do we assert, upon the strength of utterances such as those which we have just quoted, that the conception of Jahveh originally bordered upon that of Molech, or at least had many points of contact with it.

Our conception of the original nature and character of Jahveh has now been provisionally fixed. Perhaps it will be admitted that it has not been formed arbitrarily, but has really been deduced from the facts of the case. Yet, if we are to avoid even the appearance of onesidedness, we must also show now why we have not hitherto made any use of other ceremonies and practices of Jahvism. This is the more necessary in proportion as those practices occupy a wider and more important position in the worship of Jahveh.

The Israelites were accustomed to worship Jahveh with sacrifices *upon mountains and hills.*‡ Frequent mention is also made of *high places* (*bamôth*), built in his honour, and, it would seem, placed in preference upon natural eminences.§ However universal this custom may have been, it will surprise no one that we do not attempt to deduce anything from it with respect to Jahveh's nature. It was quite natural that the altars dedi-

* Comp. in the psalm just quoted, 2 Sam. xxii. 32 (Ps. xviii. 31).

† Above, pp. 45 seq.

‡ Gen. xxii. 2; Exod. iii. 12; Deut. xxxiii. 19; according to 1 Kings xx. 23, the Syrians say of the Israelites, "their god is a god of the hills."

§ See, among other instances, 1 Sam. ix. 13, 14, 19, x. 5; Ezek. xx. 28, 29.

cated to the gods who were believed to be in the heavens should be usually erected on the tops of mountains and hills: this happened not only in the worship of Jahveh, but also in that of other gods;* therefore it does not throw light in any way upon the conception which was formed of Jahveh.

The customs which sooner or later were adopted into the orthodox Jahvism, *i.e.* were sanctioned by the Mosaic laws, inspire us with the hope of a more favourable result. None of them are so important and occupy so great a space in the Law as the hallowing of the seventh day of the week as a day of rest, or *the Sabbath.* The prophets of the eighth century B.C. name it more than once;† and in the narratives relating to their times, nay, to a still earlier period, mention is made of it as a generally-known institution;‡ the observance of the Sabbath is expressly prescribed in both the editions of "the ten words"—which form the kernel of the present Pentateuch—although it is not urged for the same reasons;§ in the various books of the Law we find mention of institutions which depend upon the Sabbath, and must have been developed out of it.‖ In the above-mentioned prophetic utterances, next to the Sabbath stands *the new moon,*¶ which also already occurs in a narrative relating to Saul's time,** and in another relating to Elisha,†† and is spoken of as a holy day dedicated to the deity. And further, the Deuteronomic law (about 625 B.C.) is already acquainted with *three* annual *high feasts* in honour of Jahveh,‡‡ the feast of unleavened bread, at which the paschal sacrifice was killed, the feast of weeks, and the feast of tabernacles. These are the same that had previously been ordained by an older legislation, the so-called Book of the Covenant,§§ where, how-

* See, among other examples, Deut. xii. 2; 2 Kings xvii. 9; Ezek. vi. 13.

† Am. viii. 5; Hos. ii. 11; Isa. i. 13.

‡ 2 Kings iv. 23, xi. 5, 7, 9, xvi. 18—of which last passage, however, the reading is uncertain.

§ Exod. xx. 8—11; Deut. v. 12—15.

‖ Exod. xxiii. 10, 11; Deut. xv. 1—11; Lev. xxv.

¶ See also Hos. v. 7; Isa. i. 14.

** 1 Sam. xx. 5, 18, 24, 27, 34.

†† 2 Kings iv. 23.

‡‡ Deut. xvi. 1—18.

§§ See above, p. 128.

ever, the last two festivals bear other names: the feast of harvest and the feast of ingathering (viz. of the fruit of trees).* We need not decide here when these three feasts were first regarded as essential parts of Jahvism: originally, the third alone, the feast of the ingathering of tree-fruits, was kept at the general sanctuary,† and this was still the case during the reign of Solomon and subsequently; the celebration of the other two, if it took place at all, was therefore of a more domestic nature, or was confined to the smaller sanctuaries, the so-called "high places." But whatever may have been the date when the three feasts were put upon the same footing and adopted into the worship of Jahveh, so much is certain, that they already belonged to it at a comparatively early period. This is true also of the custom of dedicating to Jahveh *the tithes* of the produce of the field,‡ and of yielding up to him, or to the priests, *the first-fruits* of the harvest and of "the fleece of the sheep."§

To these legal stipulations others still might be added; for instance, those relating to clean and unclean animals,‖ and to cleanness in general.¶ These precepts, however—of the history of which we shall come to speak in connection with another subject—throw no light upon the nature of the deity in whose name they are enjoined. For this purpose they are too general, not characteristic enough, as they occur in the worship of different gods. And the same is true of the laws concerning the high feasts, the tithes and the first-fruits: they prove nothing more than that Jahveh, when these institutions became essential parts of his service, was acknowledged as lord of nature and as the source of fruitfulness. If we knew exactly the ceremonies which were originally practised at the celebration of these feasts,

* Exod. xxiii. 14—17.

† Comp. my *Hist. krit. Onderzoek*, &c., I. 120.

‡ Am. iv. 4; Deut. xii. 6, 17—19, xiv. 22—27, xv. 19—23.

§ Exod. xxii. 29 a; Deut. xviii. 4, xxvi. 1—11.

‖ Deut. xiv. 3—20; Lev. xi.

¶ Exod. xxii. 31; Deut. xiv. 21; Lev. xii.—xv.

or the period at which they were adopted into Jahvism, this would be of the last importance. But as the case now stands, those customs and laws afford us but little light. In reference to the feast of the passover alone must an exception be made here for the reasons mentioned above.*—We must judge somewhat differently regarding the Sabbath and the new moon. It has been asserted that their religious consecration is founded upon the worship of the planets and of the moon-god or moon-goddess. This position is not quite certain. The division of the month into four equal parts or weeks can have originated independently of the seven planets; it can have been in use without one of the days of the week being dedicated to each of those seven planets. So can the appearance of the new moon have given occasion for a religious feast, and yet the moon-goddess may not have been the particular object of adoration at that feast. But still all this is not exactly probable. The sacredness of the number seven points to a general prevalence of planet-worship; and this once acknowledged, it is, at least, very natural also to connect with it the week of seven days. And besides this, it must very soon have become evident that the month—*i.e.* the time which elapses between two new moons—is not exactly four weeks. And as for the new moon, its religious observance is strongly in favour of the position that the moon-goddess was its object. Therefore we are very much inclined to allow that both of the holy days mentioned point to the worship of the planets and of "the Queen of Heaven," as the moon-goddess was called in the seventh century B.C.† But this does not yet justify us in asserting that Jahveh himself was either one of the planets or the moon-god. Nothing hinders us from assuming that, independently of the Jahveh-worship, the week of seven days was introduced in connection with the seven planets; that one of the days of the week, out of reverence for the deity to which it belonged, was considered as specially holy;

* See p. 239, and ib. note †. † See above, p. 91.

and that Jahvism—at a very early period, as we shall see presently—appropriated this popular custom, modifying it at the same time; for the *day of rest*, of which we find no trace out of Israel, seems to have been a Jahvistic institution. In the same way it may have been a custom among the Israelites, or in some of their tribes, to celebrate the appearance of the moon-goddess by a feast; the servants of Jahveh may have taken part in this celebration, and even in much later times, setting aside its original character, have prescribed it in the Law. Such a supposition, in which the Sabbath and the new moon are reckoned among the elements which Jahvism has adopted, is not only of itself very credible, but it becomes even necessary, if it be once certain that Jahveh had belonged to the circle of solar deities. Moreover, it is recommended by the fact that, so far at least as the Sabbath is concerned, it agrees with a very ancient historical testimony. Amos reminds his contemporaries* that in the desert their forefathers had worshipped *Kewán, i.e.* the planet Saturn, which he distinguishes not only from Jahveh, but also from their king (Melech, elsewhere Molech). The prophet does not say that Kewan was then the principal deity of the whole people. We do full justice to his account when we infer from it that *some of the tribes* paid their homage to this planet; and we continue quite faithful to it when we distinguish this planet-worship from the service of Jahveh.†

If we can draw no conclusion of any sort with respect to Jahveh's nature from some of the customs and ceremonies which yet were adopted into Jahvism, much less is any light thrown upon it by the religious acts performed by the worshippers of Jahveh, but not in their capacity as such. Nothing prevents the polytheist from worshipping his various gods consecutively or simultaneously. According to his wants, or to the circumstances in which he is placed, he brings his offerings now to one and now to another deity. The recognition of a tutelar

* Am. v. 26. † See further, Note V. at the end of this Chapter.

god of the nation to which he belongs, by no means obliges him to serve that god alone. But neither is he at liberty to regard his religious performances without distinction, as elements of, or as belonging to, the worship of that common or national god. While he is paying his homage to another deity, he is unconscious of acting at variance with the reverence which he owes to the god of his nation. But this does not mean that at that moment he imagines he is serving that national god. On the contrary, if the national god has a defined character, the worshipper naturally distinguishes his worship from that of the other gods, who equally have their special characteristics.

All this is fully applicable to the worship of Jahveh, as the latter existed among the great majority of the Israelitish people. It is a fact that both in earlier and later times many adored Baal, Ashera and other deities besides Jahveh. This was most strongly condemned by the prophets. But it is evident that we must not ascribe their ideas to the people to whom they were opposed: the difference between the people and the prophets lay just in the fact that the former did *not* entertain those ideas. The worship of those other gods was not antagonistic to the people's conception of Jahvism, but it cannot teach us what idea the people had of Jahveh's nature. This is so true that, conversely, the popular conception of Jahveh's nature must frequently have formed a sharp contrast to the character of the gods who were worshipped together, or, at all events, simultaneously, with him. First of all, probably, the worship of the *Teraphim* must be regarded from this point of view. As we have already remarked,* by this name are indicated images which were revered as household gods and consulted as to the future. Their use was very general and was by no means considered inconsistent with the worship of Jahveh. They were evidently looked upon—and this is, apparently, indicated also by their name†—as beneficent, favourably-disposed beings, and

* Above, p. 77. † Comp. Roediger in Gesenii *Thes.* p. 1520 sq.

perhaps as intermediate between the Israelite and the severe, holy and awe-inspiring Jahveh. But other gods of higher rank who stood side by side with, rather than beneath, Jahveh, and who differed from him in character, were also served besides him. Such in particular were the deities which represented the beneficent and fertilizing power of nature. This may have been customary from the very beginning, before the conquest of Canaan, among all, or at least among some, of the tribes of Israel. But in any case they found the worship of this class of gods in Canaan, where it was even the predominant form. We have already noticed* that the Canaanites were not exterminated, but became fused with the Israelites, here in one way, there in another. So too did their religion combine with Israel's Jahvism. Now it is very natural that some combinations of Canaanitish with Israelitish and Jahvistic elements should have remained altogether temporary and local, and that others, on the contrary, should have spread further and lasted longer. It must have been against the latter in particular that the zeal of those who served only Jahveh was directed—and thus against the custom of fixing in the ground close to the altar of Jahveh the stem of a tree,† a symbol of the goddess Ashera, who represented the conceiving and productive force of nature; against the use of *maççebas*, upright stones or columns, which were usually connected with the worship of Baal; against the *chammanîm*, or sun-images, elements of the same worship.‡ It is certain that all these practices were in vogue with a numerous class of the worshippers of Jahveh. Yet, we repeat, not as part of their Jahvism, but as an appendage to it. We should therefore attempt in vain to elucidate the popular conception of Jahveh's nature from these customs: the people themselves who retained these practices undoubtedly made a distinction between the objects of their adoration, and we must follow their example.

* Above, pp. 144—147. † Deut. xvi. 21. ‡ See above, pp. 76, 77.

For the rest, we do not mean to say that only those gods which in a certain sense were opposed to Jahveh were worshipped besides him—to complete him, as it were. On the contrary, we shall find further on that gods akin to him shared in the homage of his servants. For the present, let it suffice to draw attention to the statement that Solomon built chapels in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem in honour of Milcom, Chemosh and Astarte, which sanctuaries existed for nearly four centuries, and certainly would not remain unused.* We shall return afterwards to these and other particulars of the same sort, and we mention them here merely to prevent misconception.

Were it a part of our plan to enumerate in full the religious customs and symbols which in the course of centuries have been brought in one way or another into connection with the worship of Jahveh, we should still have a good deal to say: the temple at Jerusalem alone would furnish us with matter in abundance. But we shall find opportunity hereafter for saying what is necessary upon this subject, and we hasten to bring this preliminary survey to an end. It brought with it its peculiar difficulties, which the writer from the very first did not disguise from himself, and which now no doubt are clearly apparent to the reader also. In order to attain our object, we have been obliged to pass rapidly from one detail to another, and have not been able to dwell upon any one of them long enough to work it out completely. We could not pass over a single phenomenon of any importance in silence, and yet, on the other hand, we could not anticipate our subsequent investigations. Hence there is many a dark point, many an unanswered question upon the road which now lies behind us. If now we could only be considered to have gained the end which we had in view! In my opinion there can be no doubt that we have done so. "That is not first which is spiritual, but that which is sensible, and afterwards that

* 1 Kings xi. 5, 7, 33; 2 Kings xxiii. 13.

which is spiritual:" these words of Paul,* we found, could be also applied in full to the history of the Israelitish religion. We were obliged to ascribe the priority to the popular idea of Jahveh, not to that of the prophets. This result, the importance of which is at once apparent, we thought might be extended still further. With this aim an inquiry was instituted into the character of the original idea of Jahveh. By various paths we arrived at one and the same conclusion: originally Jahveh was a god of light or of the sun, and the heat of the sun and consuming fire were considered to proceed from him and to be ruled by him; in accordance with this, Jahveh was conceived by those who worshipped him to be a severe being, inaccessible to mankind, whom it was necessary to propitiate with sacrifices and offerings, and even with human sacrifices.

For the present I abstain from any further definition and illustration of this result. Perhaps it awakens more than one difficulty in the reader's mind. Let him suspend his judgment until, in a following chapter, we have traversed the entire path which is now traced out. There is no better test for the result which we have thus far obtained, than the prosecution of the historical investigation itself.

NOTES.

I.—*See p.* 227, *n.* †; *p.* 228, *n.* ¶; *p.* 237, *n.* *.

No one will expect here a complete survey of the Semitic religions and their peculiarities. Let the observations made upon them on p. 225 seq. be compared with F. C. Movers, *Die Phönizier*, I. (1841); the writings of E. Renan (*Histoire générale des langues sémitiques*, *Nouvelles considérations*, &c.); M. Duncker, *Gesch. des Alterthums*, I. 220 sqq., 249 sqq., 346 sqq., and elsewhere (3te Ausg.); H. Steinthal (*Zeits. für Völkerpsychologie*

* 1 Cor. xv. 46.

u. Sprachwissenschaft, I. 328 sqq., II. 129 sqq., and still earlier in the *Zeits. der D. M. G.* XI. 396 sqq.); Diestel, *der Monotheismus des ältesten Heidenthums vorzüglich bei den Semiten* (Jahrb. für Deutsche Theol. V. 669—760)—and many others.

On the one hand, in a work such as the present, I should have had to communicate and illustrate the accounts given in the Old Testament regarding the chief Semitic deities, had I not completed this very task quite recently in a dissertation upon *Jahveh and Molech*, contained in the *Theol. Tijdschrift*, Vol. II. pp. 559—598. Only incidental mention is made there of Baal, it is true, but some particulars relating to this god will be treated in Chapter V. I can thus content myself here with stating the main points, which are discussed more or less at length in the treatise just named. They are as follows:

I. The prophet Amos (chap. v. 26) states that the Israelites carried about in the desert "the tabernacle [or some other object: the reading is uncertain] of their king" or "Melech," and other idolatrous apparatus besides. This statement may be regarded as historical. At their entrance into Canaan, the Israelites found there the worship of a deity to whom children were sacrificed (Deut. xii. 30, 31; 2 Kings xvi. 3; comp. Lev. xviii. 21, xx. 2—5), probably likewise called Melech. It may be assumed that the Israelitish Melech-worship became fused with the Canaanitish, and that thus from the time of their entrance into Canaan this worship existed and the sacrifice of children to Melech occurred sporadically. The worship of Melech, however, was of no great importance.

II. Solomon built "a high place" in the vicinity of Jerusalem for the Ammonitish god Milcom (1 Kings xi. 5, 33), perhaps Malcám (*i.e.* "king of the people;" comp. Jer. xlix. 1, 3). Once he is called Molech (1 Kings xi. 7), but it does not appear that he really bore this name. This "high place" remained in existence until Josiah's time (621 B.C.) and was destroyed by him (2 Kings xxiii. 13). In this interval it certainly did not remain unused, but that the inhabitants of the kingdom of Judah served

the Ammonitish god zealously does not appear. For, although the Melech or Molech—it is not quite certain which of these two designations was in use before the captivity—whose worship prevailed so extensively in the eighth century B.C. (see head III.), was akin to the god of the Ammonites, the Israelites did not look upon them as identical. This also appears from 2 Kings xxiii. 10, 13.

III. The Melech-worship was not unknown in the kingdom of the ten tribes (2 Kings xvii. 17). But it attained its real climax in the kingdom of Judah and in the reign of Ahaz, who offered up his son to Melech (2 Kings xvi. 3) and founded a place for sacrificing to him, called in the Old Testament "the topheth" (presumably "the vomit," "the abomination;" comp. Isa. xxx. 33), in the valley of Ben-Hinnom near Jerusalem. In Manasseh's reign, especially, Melech was zealously worshipped there (2 Kings xxi. 6; comp. Jer. vii. 31, 32, xix. 3 seq., xxxii. 35; Zeph. i. 5 ["and swear by their Melech"]; Ezek. xvi. 17—21, xx. 30, 31, xxiii. 36—39). *It was not till the 18th year of* Josiah that this topheth was defiled (2 Kings xxiii. 10), and was thereby rendered useless for ever. After that time the sacrifice of children to Melech still occurred, but it was less general and less official, so to speak, than under the kings who themselves set the example (comp. Lev. xviii. 21, xx. 2—5; also Isa. lvii. 5 [probably a description of what took place in *former* times]). Such a temporary prevalence of the Melech-worship is explained partly by the influence of the royal example and partly by the continued existence of the ancient adoration of Melech (above, under head I.). Compare also V.

IV. The analogy of "the queen [*melécheth*] of heaven" (above, p. 91) renders it probable that Melech has his name as "king of heaven"—in other words, that he was a *sun-god*. But the sun, according to the great diversity of its operations, is adored in more than one character and under more than one name. Melech represents the scorching heat of the sun, the fire of the

sun—as is evident from the manner in which he was worshipped. As such he is, at one and the same time, akin to Baal—the fertilizing sun—and opposed to Baal. If we take Baal (properly "lord," *i.e.* lord of heaven; among the Phœnicians, Baal-shamaim) for the general name of the sun-god, we can say that Melech is a form of Baal (comp. Jer. xix. 5, xxxii. 35, "high places of Baal," yet where Melech was worshipped). The documents and accounts at our disposal do not permit us to draw a sharp distinction between the two deities, and such a distinction would be at variance with the character of the Semitic religion. Rather is it most natural that "the lord" and "the king," both sun-deities, passed into each other or were purposely combined.

V. It is evident from the Old Testament itself that the Melech-worshippers did not withdraw from the service of Jahveh, but, on the contrary, displayed a certain zeal for it (Ezek. xxiii. 38, 39; Lev. xviii. 21, xx. 2—5; Zeph. i. 5; Jer. l.c. [as would appear from the formula, "which I did not command and which came not into my mind"]). This combination—which is strongly condemned by the prophets and lawgivers—may be regarded as a proof that the worshippers of Melech saw a resemblance and affinity between their god and Jahveh, so that by serving him they thought they also honoured Jahveh. How great soever, from an ethical point of view, the difference between Jahveh and Molech may have been in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., this conception of the Melech-worshippers was not altogether wrong, as appears from the phenomena to which attention was drawn on pp. 231—241. On the other hand, also, the zealous opposition of the prophets to the offering of sacrifices to Melech is very easily explained, for it was just the worship of this god that endangered the peculiarity of their Jahvism and threatened to make Jahveh sink back to the lower standpoint upon which he had stood in former ages.

II.—*See p.* 229, *n.* †.

In the passage quoted, Baur fixes his attention first upon Harrán. Thither, according to tradition, Terah and his family migrated (Gen. xi. 31, xii. 5); there, after Abraham's departure for Canaan, his kinsmen remained settled (Gen. xxiv., xxvii. 43, xxviii. 10, xxix. 4). According to the Old Testament itself, *teraphim* were in use in Laban's house (Gen. xxxi. 19, 30, 32, 34 sq.); from Gen. xxx. 11 it may be inferred that the planet Gad, *i.e.* Jupiter (comp. Isa. lxv. 11), was worshipped at Harrán; for the words should be translated, *And Leah said, With Gad! and she called his name Gad.* The comparison of Josh. xi. 17, xii. 7, where the city of Baal-Gad occurs, renders it probable that the worship of that planet was connected with the service of Baal, and that the latter, really a sun-god, and conceived as a beneficent power, was identified with that planet, just as, considered in his destructive action, he was combined with the planet Saturn. Thus the worship of the sun seems to have preceded the later very complex star-worship of the Harranians; besides this, they worshipped the moon-goddess, and that from the most remote times. The worship of the god Shemál ("the left-hand, the northern one") seems also to have belonged to the oldest elements of the paganism of the Harranians: he is distinct from the planets, and is regarded as supreme.—Baur then points, secondly, to the Assyrians. The great resemblance between their religious ideas and those of the Babylonians must not make us forget the difference. It consists in this, that the Assyrian gods show a more earnest and severer character than the Babylonian. This is true of their sun-god Bel (= Baal), who is identified with Saturn; of Semiramis, who corresponds to the Babylonian Mylitta, but unites with her attributes those of Astarte (above, p. 91). This is confirmed by 2 Kings xvii. 31: *The Sepharvites burnt their sons to Adrammelech and Anammelech, the gods of Sepharvaim.* This city lies in Mesopotamia, it is

true, but that its gods were Assyrian is rendered probable by the statement (2 Kings xix. 37) that one of Sennacherib's sons, like the former of the gods mentioned here, was called Adrammelech. The most probable interpretation of this name is *fire-king*, and since we know from other sources that Sepharvaim was a seat of the sun-worship (Berosus ed. Richter, p. 56), we must conclude that the worship of the sun's fire, *i. e.* the Molech-worship (comp. Note I.), was practised by the Assyrians.—Let this view of Baur's be compared with G. Rawlinson, *The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World*, Vol. II. 228—280, which, however, does not give much more than a dry catalogue of names of gods.

Use has also been made in another way of the accounts relating to the original dwelling-places of the Israelites, to illustrate and explain the peculiar character of their religious notions. My meaning will become clear to the reader at once, if he call to mind what has been written by Tiele, *de godsdienst van Zarathustra*, pp. 281 seq., and especially pp. 302—304, where the conclusion is drawn from the preceding discussion. After deducting what has evidently been borrowed by the Jews from the Persians, there still remains a great resemblance between Parseeism and Jahvism, which is not to be explained by the intercourse between the two nations in historical times, but seems to point to a common origin of the two religions. Tiele, in accord with Spiegel (*Eran. Das Land zwischen dem Indus und Tigris*, pp. 274—290), finds, in particular, many points of contact between the second narrative of the creation in Genesis (chap. ii. 4 seq.) and the ideas of the book Bundehesh as to the first men and their dwelling-place. He deduces from this, in conclusion, that at one time the progenitors of the Hebrews and the Perso-Aryans lived together in Iran; that there a religion arose which supplanted the old Semitic religion of the Hebrews and the old Aryan religion of the Persians, and, after the separation of the two peoples, became developed in each of them in a

different manner; that this religion was a purified fire-worship, as can still be gathered with sufficient certainty both from the Old Testament and from the Zend-avesta.—Similar ideas were put forward before by Ewald and Renan; comp. also A. Réville, *Remarques sur le rayonnement de la race aryenne à la surface de l'Europe* (Versl. en Med. der Kon. Akad. van Wet. Afd. Letterkunde, Vol. VIII. 47—68).

It will be seen without difficulty that my ideas of the original character of Jahveh agree in the main with those of Tiele. We differ in this, that he holds the fire-worship, which he also makes the basis of Jahvism, to be non-Semitic, whereas I see in it one side of the genuinely Semitic sun-worship. To my mind there is this objection to Tiele's opinion, that we meet with this peculiar conception of the deity everywhere in the Semitic world. If we found it in a single nation, or in one group of nations, *e.g.* among the Israelites and their nearest kinsmen, we could regard it without difficulty as borrowed. But this is not the case; nowhere is this type altogether wanting, although in some tribes it is much more prominent than in others.—It is true, Tiele does not actually deny a Semitic origin to the common religion of the Persians and Hebrews; he does not enter upon the question how it arose: "perhaps from the intercourse between the two nations, and perhaps, although it is not probable, by means of a people that they found there" (p. 302). Thus the possibility remains that this religion was a Semitic creation. But when it is said to have "supplanted the old Semitic religion," it is obvious that a real difference of opinion remains, which I cannot as yet remove by adopting Tiele's hypothesis.

Would, perchance, the second narrative of the creation (Gen. ii. 4 seq.) compel us to take another view of this point? In this we are at one: 1st, that this narrative was not borrowed by the Jews from the Persians after the Babylonish captivity; 2ndly, that it must have had its origin out of Palestine, and this on account of the geographical data which it contains.—

But I cannot convince myself that we must see in it an account constructed out of recollections and ideas brought by the forefathers of Israel from their original dwelling-places. It most decidedly does not appear that the leading features of the Paradise-myth were preserved in Israel for centuries before they were committed to writing, in Gen ii. 4 seq.—presumably in the 8th century B.C. Had this been the case, we should probably find many allusions to this myth in the prophetic literature, whereas now, as is well known, the Proverbs are almost the only book in which we meet with traces of acquaintance with the narrative (comp. *Hk. O.* III. 93). Does not this tend to show that the author of Gen. ii. 4 seq. borrowed his main ideas from abroad? Is not this supposition recommended by a document such as Gen. x., which has in like manner been constructed by the Israelites out of data furnished by the nations with which they were in contact? Perhaps some more light will be thrown upon this hypothesis by what we shall communicate further on concerning "wisdom" and its cultivation in Israel. Comp. therefore below, Chapter V., towards the end.

For the rest, let no exaggerated idea be formed of the significance to be attributed to the difference of opinion just stated. Hypotheses such as those discussed here must be regarded as the final results of previous research, not as aids in research itself. From their very nature they are too uncertain for the last-named purpose. They are, so to speak, postulates from the facts that lie before us, but are unfitted to bring new facts to light.

III.—*See p.* 232, *n.* ¶; *p.* 234, *n.* ¶.

To arrive at certainty with respect to the ark of Jahveh, we ought to pay attention to, among other things, the language of the Old Testament. It appears there under four different designations. 1st. "The ark of Jahveh" ("of God," "of our god,"

"of the god of Israel"). Thus Josh. iii. 3, iv. 5, 11, vi. (six times), vii. 6; 1 Sam. iii. 3, iv. (eight times), v. (twelve times), vi. (nine times), vii. 1;* 2 Sam. vi. (fifteen times), vii. 2, xv. 24, 25, 29; 1 Kings ii. 26, viii. 4; 1 Chr. xiii. xv. xvi. (parallel with 2 Sam. vi.); 2 Chr. viii. 11, comp. also 2 Chr. vi. 41; Ps. cxxxii. 8 ("the ark of Jahveh's strength"); 2 Chr. xxxv. 3 ("the holy ark").—2ndly. "The ark of the covenant of Jahveh" (or simply "of the covenant"). This name occurs in Num. x. 33, xiv. 44; Deut. x. 8, xxxi. 9, 25, 26; Josh. iii. (seven times), iv. 7, 9, 18, vi. 6, 8, viii. 33; Judges xx. 27; 1 Sam. iv. 3—5; 2 Sam. xv. 24; 1 Kings iii. 15, vi. 19, viii. 1, 6; 1 Chr. xv. 25 sq., 28 sq., xvi. 6, 37, xvii. 1, xxii. 19, xxviii. 2, 18; 2 Chr. v. 2, 7; Jer. iii. 16.—3rdly. "The ark of the testimony." Thus Exod. xxv. 22, and again eleven times in the priestly laws of the Pentateuch; also in Josh. iv. 16.—4thly. Simply "the ark." This abbreviated appellation usually occurs after either 1 or 2; in a few instances, also, it is equivalent to "the well-known ark." See, *e.g.*, Num. x. 35 (comp. 33); Josh. iv. 10 (comp. 9), vi. 4, &c. &c. From this review it is evident already that "the ark of Jahveh" is the oldest name. Let it be observed, among other things, that it is used almost constantly in older narratives, such as 1 Sam. iii.—vi., 2 Sam. vi.; whilst the Chronicler, although he usually keeps to the original, sometimes substitutes "ark of the covenant of Jahveh." Let the reader observe further 1 Sam. iv. 3—5, where "ark of the covenant of Jahveh" now occurs three times, but the original reading was "ark of Jahveh," as appears from the Alexandrine translation (Codex B.). If this last instance proves that as late as the second or the first century before our era the scribes here and there substituted the more recent and more usual designation for the older one, we are at liberty to conjecture that they did this elsewhere also, and did it so early that their correction could be expressed in the Greek translation. See, *e.g.*, 2 Sam. xv. 24 a, where—as appears from

* Why 1 Sam. xiv. 18 is omitted here, is evident from what I wrote above, p. 97.

verses 24 b, 25, 29—the author certainly wrote "the ark of God;" and further Num. x. 33, where again "the ark of Jahveh" alone is suitable, considering the task with which the ark is here charged.—The chief proof of the higher antiquity of the name "the ark of Jahveh" lies in the part which it plays in the historical narratives. Let the reader observe—besides the passages referred to on pp. 232 sq.—Num. x. 35, 36 (where it is as plain as possible that the ark is considered to be the abode of Jahveh); Josh. iii. seq. (where again Jahveh in the ark goes before or accompanies his people); 2 Sam. xv. 25 seq. (and especially David's words, *if I shall find favour in the eyes of Jahveh, he will bring me again, and show me himself* [*i.e.* the ark] *and his habitation* [*i.e.* the tent which was pitched for the ark on Zion]); and lastly, 2 Sam. vii. 2 (where the antithesis between David and the ark requires that the latter be regarded as the abode of Jahveh).—At the same time, the passages quoted above under head 2 from Deuteronomy and Jer. iii. 16, prove that towards the end of the seventh century B.C. the ark was already regarded as the depository of the document of the covenant between Jahveh and Israel. If we find in the Pentateuch, *besides this*, the idea that Jahveh sits above the ark, it is a fresh proof that the ark was originally considered to serve as a dwelling for himself (Exod. xxv. 22; Num. vii. 89).

Of the cherubim prepared by Solomon mention is made in 1 Kings vi. 23—28, viii. 6, 7; certainly no one would suspect, in reading these passages, that cherubim had already been placed upon the ark itself; Vatke (*Bibl. Theol.* I. 331 sq.) even thinks he can show that the ark cannot have been entirely covered by the wings of Solomon's cherubim, if cherubim already stood also upon the lid; in any case one of the two pairs of cherubim would have been superfluous, and thus it is much more probable that in its description of the Mosaic ark the priestly legislation had Solomon's arrangement in view, but at the same time made this alteration in it, that it joined the

cherubim to the ark: it could not well have done otherwise, since the Mosaic ark was always being moved from place to place, and therefore, in order to be constantly overshadowed by the cherubim, must have carried them with it.—1 Sam iv. 4 and 2 Sam. vi. 2, however, seem to be opposed to the supposition that the original ark was without this covering. In the passage first quoted we read, *the ark of the covenant of Jahveh of hosts,* DWELLING UPON THE CHERUBIM; in the second it is said (comp. Thenius) *the ark of God, where* [by which] *the name was invoked of Jahveh of hosts,* DWELLING UPON THE CHERUBIM ABOVE IT. The most natural interpretation of these passages is undoubtedly this, that the cherubim were on the top of the ark and served Jahveh for a seat. But it is more than probable that the cherubim were not mentioned by the author himself, but were inserted by a later reader: in both passages, and particularly in the second, the expression is cumbersome and forced, as is usually the case where a gloss is introduced into the text; moreover we have already seen that in 1 Sam. iv. 4 the word "covenant" is not original. We must hold that the author wrote, *the ark of Jahveh* and *the ark of God*—nothing more.

The reason why this point is treated at some length has been indicated above, p. 234. If Solomon's cherubim were the first, their Phœnician origin may certainly be said to be probable. This, however, decides nothing either as to their form or their meaning. With Vatke (as quoted above, p. 325), I am of opinion that we must start—not from the very fantastic description in Ezek. i. 4—28, x. 1—22, but—from the more simple account in Ezek. xxviii. 13—18: the former, according to which the cherubs have, among other things, *four* wings, is irreconcilable with 1 Kings vi. 23—28, and seems to have arisen from the exaggeration and embellishment of the Solomonic cherubim, which Ezekiel had often seen in the temple. In the interpretation of Ezek. xxviii. 13 seq., we encounter more than one, as yet insoluble, difficulty, but there is no doubt that the cherubim appear

here as *guardians* of precious stones and gold. Now this is just the part ascribed in the Eastern mythologies to the γρύψ (*i.e.* the griffin, the same word as the Hebrew *cherub*). This coincidence strongly recommends the interpretation of the meaning of the Solomonic cherubim which has been advanced above (pp. 234 seq.). Gen. iii. 24 also pleads both for the East-Asiatic origin of the cherubim, and for the opinion that to guard the unapproachable and to keep off the man who dares to approach it, is their proper task.

Various opinions can be held as to the connection between this their original meaning and the idea that Jahveh sits or flies upon the cherubim (see the passages on p. 234, n. ‡ and §). Some explain the latter representation *historically:* that which the Israelite beheld on Solomon's temple he transferred as it were to that other "temple of Jahveh," heaven: just as he saw them in the former, so also in the latter, with some modification of the idea, he placed the cherubim in Jahveh's immediate vicinity. The temple may indeed have had some influence in this matter. The opinion that the cherubim from the very first had a double meaning, which is further explained above, l.c., is however more probable. Comp. F. L. W. Schwartz, *der Ursprung der Mythologie*, pp. 280 sqq.

IV.—*See p. 236, n. **.

The ephod, which occurs in Judges viii. 27 and, in connection with the teraphim, in Judges xvii. xviii. also, has been treated of above, pp. 96—100. According to the view there advanced, Judges viii. 27 does not state of what elements Gideon's Jahveh-worship consisted; the conjecture that he set up the image of a bull at Ophrah, is based chiefly upon the severe condemnation of his conduct by the historian. On the other hand, we

read in Judges xvii. 3, 4, xviii. 14, 17, 18, of "a graven image and a molten image," and in chap. xviii. 20, 30, 31, of "a graven image," which objects existed in Micah's chapel on Mount Ephraim and were transferred thence to the city of Dan, in northern Canaan. The information communicated in Judges xvii. xviii. concerning the Jahveh-worship in the period of the Judges, besides being of the highest importance in itself, derives double value from the statement (chap. xviii. 30) that the first priest of the sanctuary at Dan was a grandson of *Moses;* for so must we read in this passage, instead of *Manasseh.* We shall revert to these two chapters in the sequel of our researches. One detail contained in them must be illustrated more fully here, because it is directly connected with the question of the antiquity of the image of the bull. Dr. H. Oort (*Theol. Tijdschrift* I. 285—294) shows that Judges xvii. xviii. are founded upon an older narrative, which only mentioned the ephod and teraphim; a reviser—according to him the author of chap. xvii. 2—4, 7 [the words, *of the family of Judah*], xviii. 14, 17, 18, 20 [the words, *the graven image and the molten image*], 30 a, 31 b [and the alteration of *Moses* into *Manasseh*]—thought it strange that no mention was made in this account of the temple at Dan of the image of the bull that was there; he supplied this deficiency, and this in such a manner that he plainly evinced at the same time his aversion to the bull-worship—among other things, by the additions in chap. xvii. 7, xviii. 30. I fully agree with Oort on the main points in this hypothesis: the distinction which he makes between the older account and the revision seems to me quite correct, and indeed accounts for the strange phenomena which appear in the present redaction. The alterations in chap. xvii. 7, xviii. 30, however, I would rather ascribe, not to the reviser, but to a later reader. My difference of opinion with regard to the conclusions to be drawn from the distinction between the two redactions is of greater importance. Oort does not hesitate to look upon the original account as trustworthy:

he thus assumes that Jeroboam I. was really the first to set up the image of the bull at Dan, and that the reviser is quite wrong in making this image as old as the sanctuary itself. I willingly admit the possibility of this view, but I do not consider it to be certain or even probable. It is true, 1 Kings xii. 28—32 relates that Jeroboam made the two images of the bull and set them up at Dan and at Beth-el. But this conviction of the author of Kings need not necessarily have been shared by every one. If it be historically more probable that Jeroboam *found* the image of the bull at Dan, than that he *placed* it there, then the reviser of Judges xvii. xviii. was not wrong when he missed something in the older narrative; then he was right in completing it; then therefore we may assume with him that the erection of the image of the bull was contemporaneous with the building of the temple at Dan—even though we willingly acknowledge that the expressions which he uses in writing of this image bear witness to a strong prejudice against this form of Jahveh-worship, and that therefore his statements as to the origin of the image (chap. xvii. 2—4) are open to great suspicion.

See further below, Chapter V., where we revert to the subject handled here. For the present, I merely wished to make it clear how the interpolation of Judges xvii. xviii. can be admitted, and yet a higher antiquity can be ascribed to the image of the bull at Dan than is attributed to it in 1 Kings xii. 28—32.

V.—*See p.* 245, *n.* †.

Since Dozy (*De Israëlieten te Mekka*, pp. 36—39) inferred from Am. v. 25, 26, and from the Sabbath, that the planet Saturn was originally the principal deity of the Israelites, both the prophetic utterance and the dedication of the seventh day of the week have been expressly handled by Oort (*De dienst der*

Baälim in Israel, pp. 15—18, 24—27) and by myself (*Godg. Bijdragen* for 1864, pp. 455—466, 475—478); our treatises have been criticised by De Goeje (*Gids.* for 1865, I. 531—548). Without giving up the main proposition which I then maintained, I have now had to modify my opinion with respect to more than one particular. I wish to render account here of this modification, and at the same time to illustrate the position laid down on pp. 244 seq.

There can hardly be any difference of opinion with regard to the place which includes the Sabbath in the Mosaic legislation. It is a *religious* institution. Both the redactions of the Decalogue speak of the *hallowing* of the Sabbath, *i.e.* the setting apart, the dedication of that day to Jahveh. The same law declares plainly in what that hallowing consisted; while the six week-days are devoted to labour, the seventh day is "the Sabbath for Jahveh thy god;" consequently that day is withdrawn from the usual work, and made a day of rest (Exod. xx. 8—10; Deut. v. 12—14). As such, as a day of rest, the Sabbath could also be enjoined from a philanthropic point of view, as is actually done in Deut. v. 14 c, 15; Exod. xxiii. 12. But it does not follow from this that the Sabbath was properly and originally a philanthropic institution. The later utterances in Exod. xxxi. 12—17 a, Ezek. xx. 10—12, are quite right in indicating the peculiar relation between Jahveh and Israel as the proper reason for setting apart that one day in the week. The motive for faithfully observing the Sabbath, which in Exod. xx. 11, xxxi. 17 b, is derived from the completion of the creation in six days (comp. Gen. ii. 3), is of very recent date: the Israelites had dedicated the seventh day to Jahveh, and regarded it as a day of rest, for a long time before they came to represent God —in the likeness of man—as finishing the work of creation in six days and as resting on the seventh day.

In explanation of the fact that the seventh day of the week was dedicated—at whatever time, or by whatever authority—to

Jahveh, and thus made a day of rest, I now assume (1) that, when this happened, the week of seven days was in use among the Israelites; (2) that, in conformity with the origin of the week, one of the days of the week, namely, the seventh, as the day dedicated to Saturn, was looked upon by some Israelites as holy, and, in one way or another, was kept religiously: thus the Israelites among whom this custom existed adored the planet in question above other deities; (3) that the worshippers of Jahveh partly respected this custom and partly modified it, and this (*a*) by making the seventh day a *day of rest;* (*b*) by dedicating it *to Jahveh.*—I by no means shut my eyes to the fact that this view is not susceptible of strict and complete demonstration, at which, in truth, no one can be surprised. But each of its portions is recommended either by analogy or by positive proofs. To the proposition affirmed under (1) surely no one will object. I formerly denied (in the dissertation above referred to, pp. 475 seq.) that the week of seven days originated in connection with the seven planets; I am not quite certain of it yet; but I must grant to De Goeje (in the publication quoted above, pp. 538 seq.) that probability is in favour of this supposition, and that the sacredness of the number *seven*—which also goes back among the Israelites to the most remote times—can hardly be explained but by the worship of the planets. I thought formerly that the recognition of this origin of the week involved the proposition that the days of the week were each dedicated to one planet, and this in the order in which the Romans did so subsequently, so that the first day belonged to Saturn, the second to the Sun, the third to the Moon, the fourth to Mars, the fifth to Mercury, the sixth to Jupiter, and the seventh to Venus: I then considered the high antiquity of this arrangement very improbable, taken in connection with its origin (in the above-mentioned dissertation, p. 476, n. 1). I now perceive that the planetary origin of the week can be recognized, without on that account admitting that each day had its own planet and that the planets

were distributed over the seven days as they afterwards were in Egypt and among the Romans. In other words, a Semitic tribe, which especially worshipped the planet Saturn, the highest or most distant of the planets, may have dedicated to it the seventh day of the week, without the other days having also their own planets and being named after them.—Now the supposition that such a Saturn-worship existed among the Israelites is based chiefly upon Am. v. 26. My conviction that this refers to Israel's sojourn in the wilderness is further strengthened by De Goeje (in the article above quoted, pp. 532 sqq.). But so much the more do I still lament that the exegesis of this important passage is beset by so many and so great difficulties: every fresh expounder has a fresh conjecture regarding it, whether it be to improve, or to explain, the text. It is not my intention to deal with the words of Amos at any length: I will simply give a few hints in justification of the conclusions which I have drawn from them. After asking (ver. 25) whether the Israelites had offered sacrifices and gifts to Jahveh in the desert for forty years, the prophet describes in ver. 26 what was the state of affairs in the desert. From the connection of verses 25 and 26, it is evident at once that Kohler (*Der Segen Jacob's*, p. 14) is altogether wrong in finding mention in ver. 26 of images of Jahveh: unless *other gods* are alluded to here, the particulars which Amos gives are out of place in the context. Now it seems to me, further, that Amos very clearly names *more than one god:* by the side of "the tabernacle of your king" (or "of Molech") stands Kijûn or Kewân, or however else the Hebrew word may be translated. It is important that this should not pass unnoticed. It is obvious at once, from the position of the words in ver. 25, that the prophet's intention is not to contrast Jahveh with another god: in that case he surely would have written, "Have you offered unto ME sacrifices and offerings?" The fact that various objects of religious adoration are enumerated in ver. 26, renders it all the more evident that

this antithesis is not in Amos' thoughts, and that in fact the prophet, as I said just now, wishes to remind men what was the state of affairs in the desert. Thus we may not infer from his words that this or that deity was worshipped then *instead of Jahveh;* we shall not misinterpret him, if we, as it were, distribute his accusations over the different tribes, and attribute the worship of "your king" to one tribe, and that of "Kiûn" to another.—So there only remains the question, how this word "kiûn" should be interpreted. Some expositors see in it an appellative, and translate *stand,* or *pillar*; Kohler (as above cited) compares the Hebr. *cauwán,* which occurs in Jer. vii. 18, xliv. 19, and according to him means *image.* Others hold it to be a proper name, pronounce it *Keiwán,* and see in it the planet Saturn. The choice between these two interpretations is so difficult, because the reading and position of the following words is so exceedingly uncertain (comp. the LXX., and also, besides the expositors of Amos, Movers, *die Phönizier,* I. 289—299; Van Gilse, *Bijb. Woordenboek,* II. 334 sqq.). After long hesitation, I think I must give the preference to the second interpretation, chiefly *because it is recommended by exegetic tradition.* I assume, therefore, that Amos, in accordance with his contemporaries, ascribed the worship of Saturn to the Israelites in the desert, or at all events to some of them, and I do not hesitate, on the strength of his testimony, and in spite of Oort's objections (*Theol. Tijdschrift,* I. 293 sq.), to admit the truth of that charge. —If my readers concur in this, they will not refuse to accept the further conjectures as to the connection between the Saturn-worship and the dedication of the seventh day, as well as with regard to the adoption and modification of this custom by the worshippers of Jahveh: at the least, they recommend themselves by their simplicity. Comp. also the view of the Mosaic times in Chapter V.

What has been affirmed of *the new moon* needs no detailed illustration: the hypothesis that its religious observance had

the same origin, and passed into the Jahveh-worship by the same process as the Sabbath, contains its own commendation. Osiander (*Zeits. der D. Morgenl. Ges.* XIX. 242 sqq.) considers it probable that mount Sinai, the desert of Sin and the tribes of the Sinites (Gen. x. 17) derive their name from *Sîn, i.e.* the moon-god, which was also worshipped subsequently among the Himjarites (as was Almakah, likewise Deus Lunus; see the Journal referred to, XX. 274 sqq.). The same deity was held in high esteem among the ancient Babylonians and the Assyrians (comp. G. Rawlinson, *The Five Monarchies*, &c., I. 156—158; II. 247). Tuch had already pointed out (in the same Journal, III. 161, 202 sq.) that the moon was worshipped at Sinai, although not exactly under the name of *Sîn*.—It was very natural that the worship of the moon should be introduced among the Israelites during their wanderings in the peninsula of Sinai, if it did not previously exist among them. In the Mosaic laws the observance of the new moon is of a good deal less consequence than that of the Sabbath: perhaps we may infer from this that the service of the moon-deity was not so general and did not meet with so much sympathy as that of Keiwân; there is not the least ground for the opinion that it was the principal deity of all the "sons of Israel:" a fresh proof that we were right in making a distinction above (pp. 230, 242 seq.) between the original property of Jahvism and the elements which it adopted from other quarters.

CHAPTER V.

History of Israel's Religious Development before and during the Eighth Century B.C.

Before we enter upon the task for which we are now prepared, we will once more glance backwards. Our aim is to arrive at a *certain* knowledge of the origin and development of Israel's religion. In order to obtain it, we first of all sought a firm starting-point. This we found in the religious condition of the Israelitish nation during the eighth century B.C., which we therefore sketched, almost exclusively from contemporary records, in our First Chapter. We then passed on to investigations which promised to elucidate that sketch. We traced the earlier fortunes of Israel; we made ourselves acquainted with the prophets and prophecy; and finally we formed a provisional conception of the course which Israel's religious development had followed. If we saw the Israelitish nation gradually grow and rise to a higher civilization; if we discovered in the history of prophecy evident signs of progress and development —in complete harmony with this we found, in Chapter IV., that the prophetic conception of Jahveh's being and character was later and less original than the popular ideas and customs to which it was opposed. Thus we already see before us the broader outlines of a solution of the problem which has been proposed. The whole of our previous investigations lead to the conclusion that the Israelitish religion, originally closely related to that of many other Semitic tribes, gradually and under the influence of Israel's peculiar fortunes assumed in the minds of the prophets another and more elevated character.

In the present state of historical research, it may in fact be accepted as quite certain that the religious development of

Israel followed this course. Uncertainty first begins when we descend more into details and try to indicate the resting-places on this long road. This does not deter us, however, from making every effort to become acquainted with those details. It is only through them that our conception of Israel's religious history acquires the precision which it needs, before it can be regarded as admissible and satisfactory. And, moreover, this is the only way to ascertain whether the facts which are really certain, do or do not confirm our theory of the growth of Israel's religion. It is therefore with the consciousness of executing a useful and necessary work that we prosecute our task. Even though we obtain nothing beyond a more or less probable result with regard to more than one point, if it is at the same time evident that the principal lines can be drawn with a firm hand, the reader will readily tolerate this inevitable uncertainty.

I. *The Mosaic Time.*

The patriarchs fall outside the sphere over which our survey extends. Any one who remembers the remarks which were made upon them in Chapter II.* will at once approve of this. It is true that we shall once more revert to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, but it will be in order to explain the origin of the narratives concerning them, and especially the representation which these narratives give of their religious ideas. At present we cannot go back further than *the Israelitish tribes in Goshen.*

In the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries before our era, there lived in the north-eastern border-lands of Egypt some Semitic tribes which the Egyptians seem to have indicated by the common name of Hebrews—"men from the other side" of the river Euphrates.† Some of these tribes called themselves "sons of Israel;" they formed the kernel of the population of Goshen, and may have exercised a certain supremacy over the rest of the

* Pp. 104 seq. † Above, p. 171.

Hebrews, as well as over the Egyptians, who were settled in that district.

The Hebrews were undoubtedly polytheists. This is shown, not only by the sequel of their history, but also by positive evidence of later date, it is true, but still admissible, because it is not contradicted by a single account of former times.* It is more than doubtful, however, whether these witnesses are right in ascribing an Egyptian origin to the "abominations" and "filthy gods" which the Hebrews served. From the attempts of the Pharaohs to make slaves of the Hebrews we may at least infer that the Egyptian nation looked upon the inhabitants of its border-districts as foreigners, and therefore that the latter differed from it in religion. In any case the oppression and subsequent deliverance can have had no other result than that the Egyptian ideas and customs, even granting that they were on the road towards becoming adopted by the Hebrews, were repelled and rejected.

It is much more likely that the polytheism of the tribes in Goshen was Semitic. We already know what this means.† There is no doubt that, along with an utter want of unity and government, very great variety prevailed among the Hebrews in regard to religion: in one tribe conceptions and customs existed, which in another were known scarcely or not at all. If they stood generally upon a low level of civilization, the lowest conception of religion will no doubt have had most adherents. This we know as fetishism, which continues to exist even where less childish ideas have already arisen and, for instance, the adoration of the heavenly bodies, of the sun, moon and planets, has been introduced. Therefore we certainly shall not err if we assume that the worship of trees and especially of stones, which for some reason or other were held to be abodes of the deity, was very common among the Hebrews. The Old Testament still contains many reminiscences of that stone-worship, which was by no means limited to the land of Goshen, but was con-

* Josh. xxiv. 14; Ezek. xx. 5—9, xxiii. 19, 21, 27. † See pp. 225 seq.

tinued in Canaan also. When Jahveh was afterwards acknowledged by many as the only god, these holy stones were brought into connection with him in various ways. It is here worthy of note, that the most of them are said to have been set up by the patriarchs during their wanderings through Canaan, either as altars in honour of Jahveh or as memorials of his presence: this is easily accounted for, if the worship of stones had really been common in former times.* We prefer to pass over the question, whether the Teraphim, to which we have referred before,† were already in use in Goshen: they may have been borrowed from the Syrians after the sons of Israel had settled in Canaan.

The worship of a principal deity, acknowledged as the protector of the whole tribe or confederation of tribes, is quite reconcilable with polytheism.‡ Everything is in favour of the supposition that at all events "the sons of Israel" worshipped such a common god in Goshen. We are already acquainted with his being and character. Upon the supposition—which we shall presently vindicate more fully—that he *remained* the tribe-god of Israel, we see in him that severe god of light, that bearer of the consuming fire of the sun, who, according to our previous researches, preceded the Jahveh of the prophets, and is recognized without difficulty in their descriptions of Jahveh's nature, as well as in the rites of his worship. May we conclude from the name *Israel* ("El strives") that this deity was worshipped as *El?* And, more especially, may the statement that the patriarchs called upon Jahveh as *El-Shaddai*§ be applied to the tribes in Goshen? *Shaddai* is *the mighty one*, or perhaps still more exactly *the violent one*. This appellation, therefore, agrees with the character which we are inclined to ascribe to the tutelary god of the tribes. But the reasons in favour of the

* See below, under II. The Period of the Judges, and also Note I. at the end of this Chapter.

† See pp. 77 seq., 246 seq.

‡ Comp. p. 228.

§ Exod. vi. 1 seq.

supposition that they employed this name cannot be adduced till afterwards.

Religious ceremonies, sacrifices and festivals were no doubt already connected with the worship of this tribal god in Goshen. The sons of Israel had not a regulated public worship, it is true; but every religious bond need not on that account have been wanting. At the same time, it is self-evident that we know the forms of worship then prevalent only in so far as they were still in existence in later days: we shall therefore naturally return to them presently. We will now hasten to cross the limits of that dark period of the sojourn of the tribes in Goshen.

Towards the end of the 14th century B.C., the sons of Israel, and with them most of the Hebrews, escaped from the Egyptian oppression, under which they had groaned during the reigns of Ramses II. and his successor Menephtha, and left the land of Goshen. Our criticisms upon the Israelitish and Egyptian traditions concerning this event will be recollected:* we believed that we could retain little more of the Old Testament narrative than the main fact, but this we found to be fully confirmed by Manetho's account. A weighty question now arises in connection with this deviation from tradition. In the narratives relating to the exodus *Moses* plays a very important part. He appears there as the deliverer of the sons of Israel, but at the same time as the reformer of their religion and as their lawgiver; he opens an entirely new epoch in the religious development of his nation. Is tradition worthy of credit upon this point?

Some have gone so far as to throw doubt upon the very existence of Moses; others have denied that we are entitled any longer to regard him as Israel's lawgiver. This latter assertion especially deserves serious consideration. It is quite certain that nearly all the laws of the Pentateuch date from much later times: if no difficulty was experienced in ascribing

* Above, pp. 117 seq.

to him these more recent ordinances, what guarantee have we that he promulgated any one of the laws? Probably not one of the psalms is from David's hand; yet in the titles he is named as the author of more than seventy of these songs, and at a later period even the whole of them were attributed to him. It cannot be proved that a single one of the "proverbs of Solomon' proceeds from the king in whose name they all stand. Cannot this be the case also with Moses? Is not the silence of the older prophets as to the *Mosaic* law—Malachi is the first who mentions it*—a real obstacle to the supposition that even a very smal portion of it originated with him?

These reflections and questions are not without foundation. But the very examples by which they are enforced can teach us how far our doubt is legitimate, and what limits it may not overpass. Tradition has not attributed the Psalms to David, the Proverbs to Solomon, arbitrarily: the former was actually a poet, the latter a master of "wisdom" and the patron of "wise men;" that which lyric and proverbial poetry produced in after centuries could be ascribed to them, inasmuch as they had set the example of each sort of composition. The same we imagine to have been the case with Moses. The collections of laws which were formed at various periods of Israel's history were fearlessly embellished with his name, because it was known that he had laid the foundations of all legislation. This he could do without writing down a single precept, provided that he indeed came forward, not only to deliver his people, but also to proclaim the will of the deity. Now the prophets of the eighth century B.C. already knew him in this character: Micah calls him an envoy of Jahveh;† in Hosea he is called a prophet.‡ In the oldest narratives of the Pentateuch he appears in the same light.§ Nay, in the Egyptian tradition also, the leader of the lepers is a *priest*, who not only gives them freedom, but new laws as well.‖

* Mal. iv. 4. † Mic. vi. 4. ‡ Hos. xii. 13.

§ Above, pp. 127 seq. ‖ See pp. 119 seq.

Therefore, without yet taking it for granted that some at least of the precepts of the present Pentateuch were written down in the Mosaic time, we assume without hesitation, on the strength of the constant tradition, that a place, nay, an important place, belongs to Moses in the history of the religious and moral life of his nation also.

We can picture to ourselves without difficulty how Moses may have worked as leader of the tribes in this field. He was the soul of the conspiracy which preceded the exodus of the Hebrews from Egypt. The whole enterprize was conducted by him, in conjunction with other men. In the desert, too, in the attempt to penetrate into the south, and during the stay in the trans-Jordanic districts, he stood at the head of the tribes. He came forward and was revered as the envoy and representative of the deity. In judicial proceedings his sentence was final.* But he extended the sphere of his activity still further. He was the man charged with the regulation of the common interests and the joint action of the tribes. Perhaps the number of the tribes was fixed by him at *twelve*, or else the whole of the Hebrews who left Goshen were distributed by him among the already existing twelve tribes of the "sons of Israel." From him the confederacy thus formed received its religious consecration. He it was who assembled the tribes, represented by their chiefs, at Sinai, and there sanctified their mutual alliance by a solemn sacrifice to their common god. Upon that occasion, and afterwards in the trans-Jordanic region, we may also suppose him to have announced the commands of that god, and to have bound the tribes to observe them. The tradition, which we will examine more closely by and by, places the promulgation of "the ten words" at Sinai: is there any real obstacle to the supposition that these or similar rules emanated from Moses? On the contrary, it recommends itself by its internal probability. Yet we must assume that Moses, in accordance with the spirit and the

* Comp. Exod. xviii.

wants of the times, laboured more as a judge and prophet than as a lawgiver. The tribes had just been released from a hard slavery; they themselves regarded the sojourn in the wilderness as provisional: in order to effect anything, it was necessary that attention should be confined to matters of immediate urgency. Moses, too, must have understood this. By his example, by removing abuses, and by precepts for specific cases, "he established ordinances and justice for Israel."*

According to this representation—the correctness of which will gradually become more and more apparent—Moses not only remains a man of vigour and foresight, but is placed upon so high a standpoint among, or rather above, his countrymen, that we involuntarily inquire as to his preparation for so onerous a task. To this question tradition seems to give a most unequivocal answer. According to the narrative in Exodus, Moses was brought up by Pharaoh's daughter.† In after times it was added to this, that "he was instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians."‡ In the opinion of those versed in such studies—who, however, do not agree in their interpretations—he bears an Egyptian name. Manetho calls him a priest from Heliopolis. Then does it not seem very reasonable to ascribe *an Egyptian origin* to the ideas which he expressed? And in addition to this, many consider that there is a very strong resemblance between his doctrine and that of the Egyptian priests. They assure us that in the most ancient times the belief in one God was one of the tenets of those priests. They inform us that in the sacerdotal literature that one God has no proper name, but is indicated by the words, *nuk pu nuk* ("I am that I am"), which we meet with again, literally translated, in a well-known passage in Exodus.§ They further point to the evident traces of Egyptian influence upon the Mosaic worship, as visible in the ark of Jahveh, in the priestly vestments, and in the urim and thummim. They remind us, finally, that the ethical doctrines

* Exod. xv. 25.

† Exod. ii. 10; Acts vii. 21.

‡ Acts vii. 22.

§ Exod. iii. 14.

of the Egyptians are highly developed and pure, and not inferior to those of the Pentateuch: the agreement between them is sufficiently great to warrant the supposition that one was borrowed from the other; yet not the Egyptian from that of the Pentateuch, but conversely, as we are acquainted with the former from monuments which are older than the 14th century before our era. Do not these phenomena, in their mutual connection, afford decisive proof that Moses introduced Egyptian ideas and customs among his people?

Let us be careful. It would not be the first time that a common origin had been attributed, on the strength of a comparison, to things which afterwards were found to be quite independent of each other. In the present case, our suspicions are at once aroused by the manner in which the comparison is made. The doctrine of the Pentateuch, and the ordinances there described, are laid side by side with the wisdom of the Egyptian sacerdotal caste and the rites of the Egyptian worship. As if the Pentateuch were the product of one, and that the Mosaic age! As if Egypt and Israel were in contact with one another only in the time of Moses, and not subsequently also, in the reigns of Solomon and his successors! Further, dogmas are put down as identical, which, although of the same apparent tenor, are yet widely different. Even if Moses was a monotheist—we will examine this question hereafter—his one God stood outside of nature as its creator and lord; not so the deity of the Egyptian priests, which was rather conceived of as the one force of nature which was adored by the people under various names in their nature-gods.* "I am that I am:" the priests of the valley of the Nile must have so named that one God, because they systematically avoided any closer definition of his being; "I am that I am:" Jahveh speaks thus, because he never changes, and will be to the children what he has been to their fathers. Now it is every way possible that the Hebrews,

* By this is to be understood the gods who represent, or are personifications of, the most important natural forces and phenomena.—*Transl. Note.*

either in Goshen or afterwards, borrowed a few things—for example, the urim and thummim—from the Egyptians through Moses, but they can have done this without appropriating the religion of the Egyptians or the doctrines of their priests. The moral doctrines, then, alone remain. Here, in fact, the supposition of Egyptian influence upon the Hebrews in general, and upon Moses in particular, is very admissible.* It should be borne in mind that the inhabitants of Goshen were still in a very low state of development, while a civilization centuries old flourished in the valley of the Nile. The contemplation of the political constitution, and of the civil and domestic life of the Egyptians, cannot but have made a deep impression upon the Israelite, and, while it made him value the privileges of the free nomadic life more highly, must at the same time have opened his eyes to those deficiencies which were prejudicial to the people of his own race. Now, with the Egyptians, the moral life was under the oversight and protection of the gods, it is true—let the reader remember the conception of Osiris, the judge in the lower world—but yet it was not so bound up with religion that it could not be separated from it. The attempt to transplant this higher morality to other ground was not at all unreasonable. We can ascribe this attempt to Moses, and at the same time hold—as in fact we do hold—that the deity in whose name he spoke was of Semitic origin, and was already the tribal god of the Hebrews, or, at all events, of the "sons of Israel," before his time. Let us not forget, moreover, that the opposite theory, which we are impugning, is very improbable in itself. What! can the Israelites have worshipped an Egyptian god at the very moment that they escaped from Egyptian rule? can they have returned thanks for their deliverance to one of the gods of the nation at whose expense it occurred? How much more natural is the representation of the Israelitish record, that at the exodus and at the Red Sea the god of Israel "executed

* Comp. Note II. at the end of this Chapter.

judgment against the gods of the Egyptians,"* and the account of Manetho, that the ordinances prescribed to "the lepers" by Osarophis (Moses) were opposed to those of the Egyptians.

The god in whose name Moses spoke, the national god of the sons of Israel already worshipped before his time: this position, which we have just advanced and briefly supported in passing, must now be more precisely stated and elucidated. In my opinion, we do not do full justice to the historical facts and to tradition, unless we believe that Moses both acknowledged this tribal god and also entertained a somewhat modified conception of his nature. Let us not conceal from ourselves the fact that every assertion on this point is hazardous. Still I bring forward my conjectures without fear, because I add the grounds upon which they rest, so that every one can judge for himself.

As early as the eighth century before our era, the Israelites were convinced that the god of their fathers, the god of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, had made himself known as *Jahveh* at the exodus from Egypt. Probably this conviction forms the foundation of Hosea's words, "Jahveh, thy god from the land of Egypt,"† and of other utterances of his contemporaries besides.‡ It is expressly mentioned in the Pentateuch more than once.§ In accordance with this tradition, we assume that *Moses was the first to call the god of the sons of Israel Jahveh.* There is not a single valid objection to this assumption, whilst both the higher antiquity and the Canaanitish origin of this name are not only unproved, but are also open to grave doubts.‖

What does this name signify? When we find that in one of the narratives of Exodus just referred to, *Ehjeh* ("I am") is substituted for *Jahveh*, and that the former is defined more exactly as "I am that I am,"¶ it is evident, in the first place, that the

* Exod. xii. 12; Num. xxxiii. 14; comp. Exod. xviii. 11, viii. 10, ix. 14, xv. 11.

† Hos. xiii. 4. ‡ Above, p. 39. § Exod. iii. 1 seq., vi. 1 seq.

‖ Comp. Note III. at the end of this Chapter. ¶ Exod. iii. 14.

author derives Jahveh from a verb signifying "to be," and, in the second, that he sees in it the expression of the idea of unchangeableness and fidelity. To a certain extent the correctness of this etymology is admitted by a very large majority of writers. *Jahveh* is almost universally regarded as a derivative of the verb "to be." But while some hold entirely to the narrative in Exodus and translate the name as *he is* or *he who is*, others give the preference to the explanation, *he causes to be*, that is, he calls into existence or into life, in a word, *the creator* or *life-giver*. It is not easy to choose between these two interpretations; they are both possible; probability alone can decide here. Now it cannot be denied that the unchangeableness and fidelity which the author of Exod. iii. finds indicated by the name "Jahveh," are not directly expressed in it: it is very natural that these attributes of Jahveh should have been *discovered* in his name afterwards, but it is not easily conceivable that this name should have been given to him because those qualities were attributed to him. In any case, therefore, we must differ from the author. If his translation ("he who is") is to be followed, then the name "Jahveh" contains an antithesis; Jahveh is distinguished by this name from *the gods who are not*.* But this distinction, although it is quite in the spirit of the later prophets, can hardly be ascribed to Moses; absolute monotheism, of which, centuries after his time, no trace yet appeared in Israel, could not be attributed to him unless incontestable proofs were adduced in its favour. But where are they to be found? We are thus naturally led to select the other interpretation, and assign to "Jahveh" the meaning of "creator" or "life-giver." But unless I be mistaken, we must not attach too much importance to this meaning, or rely exclusively upon it in our inquiry into the ideas of Moses. For it is certain, from Exod. iii., that the real meaning of "Jahveh" was not so clear but that this name could also be interpreted in another way. Besides this, Moses can

* Comp. above, pp. 52 seq.

scarcely be supposed to have *invented* the name "Jahveh;" in all probability it was already in use, among however limited a circle, before he employed it to indicate El-Shaddai, the god of the sons of Israel. If we put one thing and another together, if we reflect that the name "Jahveh" already existed indeed, but did not at once make the same impression upon all, we hesitate to build a theory upon it, and we look about for other, less ambiguous, phenomena by which to regulate our conception of Moses' religious convictions.

Our eye falls involuntarily upon a passage which has a strong claim to our attention, both on account of its contents and of the place where it occurs. "Thou shalt have none other gods before my face;" so speaks Jahveh to Israel, almost at the beginning of "the ten words."* Without anticipating the inquiry to which we are about to proceed, we can already assert here, that "the ten words" have more chance of being acknowledged as Mosaic than any other part of the Pentateuch. But this is true in an altogether special sense of the precept just quoted. If we have no right to call Moses a monotheist, it may be said to be highly probable that he received a deep impression of the might and glory of the god of his nation, chose him for the sole object of his worship, and elevated this his choice into a law for all Israel. Nothing less, but also nothing more, than this is contained in the words, "none other gods before Jahveh's face."

Such an attitude of Moses towards the god of the sons of Israel can be easily accounted for psychologically. Of course we have not the power to penetrate into the inner life of the soul and to bring its secrets to light. Yet we can point out how circumstances naturally gave rise to such a conception as we ascribe to Moses—and more than this cannot be required of us. From the very nature of the case, the attempts of the Pharaohs to deprive the Hebrews of their independence and to incorporate them with the Egyptian state, must have appeared

* Exod. xx. 3; Deut. v. 7.

to a religious mind such as his to be an attack on the part of the Egyptian gods upon the tribal-god of the sons of Israel. This naturally led him to compare the nature-gods of the valley of the Nile with the god of his fathers. He had received a deep impression of the power and majesty of *El-Shaddai*, that pure and awe-inspiring god. If this god would interest himself in the fate of his people and fight at the head of his adorers, there was not a moment's doubt in Moses' mind as to the result of the struggle. Love for his oppressed brethren combines with his reverence for the god of his fathers to inspire him with the conviction that this god has destined him, Moses, to deliver the Israelites. The bold plan succeeds; the tyrant's chains are broken; the Red Sea separates the Israelites from their pursuers. But now Moses is convinced that the mighty tutelary god will tolerate no other gods besides himself: let the Israelites serve him, and him alone!

According to this view, the dominating and decisive thought in Moses' mind was his conception of Jahveh's character, in contradistinction to that of the nature-gods of the Egyptians. We can express this also in another manner, and say: as he recognized Jahveh as *the holy one*, he saw in him the sole object of his adoration. We have already seen what idea the prophets of the eighth century B.C. had of Jahveh's holiness.* We are not justified in attributing the same conception to Moses. The absolute separation between Jahveh and nature, which was completed in the minds of the prophets, existed, as we may presume, only in germ in Moses. To him light and fire had not yet become symbols; Jahveh's very essence seemed to him to manifest itself in them. But he was on the path which was subsequently trodden by the prophets, in so far as he conceived that moral development of which he had recognized the necessity to be a requirement of the same god whose glory had taken possession of his susceptible soul and to whose service he had dedicated

* Above, pp. 43 seq.

himself. Moses may have owed his ideal of morality to his intercourse with the Egyptians, but he could not regard its realization otherwise than as the will of the god of his fathers: the inaccessible, pure, austere god of light was predestined, as it were, to proclaim and maintain that ideal. The great merit of Moses lies in the fact that he thus connected the religious idea with the moral life. Jahveh comes before his people with moral demands and commandments: this is the starting-point of Israel's rich religious development, the germ of those glorious truths which were to ripen in the course of centuries.

Let the reader permit me to assume that this interpretation of the ideas and work of Moses is not in itself regarded as inadmissible. He is, in that case, now prepared for an impartial consideration of the proofs upon which it rests. For I willingly acknowledge that as yet it is no more than a conjecture. Our right to derive our conception of Moses' character and labours from "the ten words" has yet to be supported. Let us, therefore, now study these "words" more closely.

The name by which we have just indicated them occurs in the Pentateuch itself,* and, as we shall soon perceive, is to be preferred to the usual appellation, "the ten commandments." The "words" themselves are given twice, in Exodus and Deuteronomy;† the comparison of the two texts at once brings to light deviations which are not unimportant; among other things, the ground assigned to the commandment regarding the Sabbath in Deuteronomy is different from that alleged in Exodus; and the smaller divergences are very numerous.‡ It is evident, therefore, that "the ten words" have not been held to be so sacred and inviolable that no one dared to modify them. But if this liberty was assumed, and the Sabbath commandment, for instance, was not left unaltered, what guarantee have we that

* Exod. xxxiv. 28; Deut. iv. 13, x. 4.

† Exod. xx. 2—17; Deut. v. 6—21.

‡ Comp. Exod. xx. 8—11 with Deut. v. 12—15, and also my *Hk. O.* I. 45 seq.

the text has not been expanded in other places as well?* nay, that even entirely new commandments have not been admitted and have not superseded more ancient precepts? We ask this question with the greater emphasis, because the remembrance of such a re-moulding of "the ten words" seems to have been preserved in tradition. According to a well-known account, the tables of stone upon which the "words" were written were broken by Moses and shortly afterwards replaced by others.† If this account may not be taken as literally true, it cannot well have any other meaning than that the sins of Israel rendered it necessary to modify the law which formed the basis of the covenant with Jahveh. We will thus abandon at once and altogether the idea of literal authenticity. The question can only be, whether Moses *in general* uttered warnings against the same sins and gave the same positive commandments that still appear in the Decalogue? Have "the ten words"—such is in other terms the problem—a genuinely Mosaic kernel, and can the latter be distinguished with any probability from the later additions?

The record which lies before us consists of *ten* words. Which are they? It is a well-known fact that a difference of opinion still exists on this point. Ever since the days of Augustine, many have divided into two‡ the commandment not to covet, and it then forms the ninth and tenth words. This opinion, however, may now be regarded as obsolete. It is thus established that the last eight words (3—10) refer to the misuse of Jahveh's name, to the observance of the Sabbath, to the honouring of parents, to murder, adultery, stealing, bearing false witness, and covetousness. The only thing doubtful is the limit which separates the first from the second word. Does the

* *E.g.* Exod. xx. 5 b, 6, 17 (Deut. v. 9 b, 10, 21), the fulness of which, taken in connection with the brevity of the rest of the commandments, gives rise to a suspicion of re-moulding and enlargement.

† Exod. xxxii. 19, xxxiv. 1 seq., 28, 29; comp. Deut. ix. 17, x. 1—5.

‡ The repetition of the verb "covet," in Exod. xx. 17, gives occasion for this; instead of the second "thou shalt not covet," we find in Deut. v. 21, "thou shalt not allow thyself to desire."

exordium: "I, Jahveh, am thy god, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage," stand alone, as an introduction, or does it form the first word? If we look upon it as an introduction, the first word will be: "thou shalt have none other gods before my face," and the second: "thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image." On the other hand, these two precepts must be most closely connected and regarded as one word—the second—if we consider that the first is contained in the declaration: "I, Jahveh, am thy god, which brought thee out of the house of bondage." It will now be understood why we just now recalled attention to the fact that the Old Testament speaks of ten *words* and not of ten *commandments*. The exordium to which we have referred is not a commandment, but it is a word—and a word of such great importance and to so great a degree the foundation of all the rest, that it has the most perfect right to take its place among the ten words. We have no hesitation, therefore, in considering it as the first word. But it results from this, that—in the version of "the ten words" which has been preserved to us in the Old Testament—the commandment not to make images cannot be regarded otherwise than as an explanation or amplification of the preceding "thou shalt have none other gods before my face." What follows from this we shall investigate by and by. We will first fix our attention upon "the ten words" as a whole.

There is no real obstacle to the supposition that they are derived from Moses; on the contrary, their contents and arrangement are entirely in accordance with the theory of their Mosaic origin. The relation in which Jahveh stands to Israel having been declared in the first word, the conclusion is drawn in the second, that Israel must serve him alone, to the exclusion of other gods (whose existence, however, is rather admitted than denied). After this, the sacredness of an oath by Jahveh—upon which the union of the tribes and, in general, the inviolability of every contract depended—is maintained in the third word.

The dedication to Jahveh of the last day in the week is then prescribed, in the fourth commandment, as an outward sign of the consecration of the people to Jahveh's service. Then follow the moral precepts in simple and natural order. They require no explanation, with the exception of the tenth word, which does not seem to be quite homogeneous with the others. Is it not strange that it is not the act, but the inclination, which is here forbidden? Does not this word consequently bear witness to a conception of moral life deeper than that which appears in the other precepts? It seems to do so. But we must hold that the desire for another's property is considered and condemned here, not as a mere inclination, but as the beginning of the sinful act, and not so much of stealing—against which the eighth word is directed—as of all sorts of cunning attempts to cheat a neighbour of his goods. And, moreover, but little penetration was needed to perceive that the cherishing of the desire must naturally lead to sinful acts, and must therefore, if possible, be checked. In Egyptian ethics, which, according to our supposition, were not unknown to Moses, this inseparable connection between the inclination and the act was not unnoticed.*

Thus far we are brought by the consideration of "the ten words" as a whole. The result seems to be beyond doubt. The tradition which ascribes them to Moses is worthy of respect on account of its undisputed antiquity. Nevertheless, if it were contradicted by the contents and form of the "words," we should have to reject it. But this is not the case. Therefore we accept it. Reserving our right to subject each separate commandment to special criticism and, if necessary, to deny its Mosaic origin, we acknowledge it as a fact, that Moses, in the name of Jahveh, prescribed to the Israelitish tribes *such a law* as is contained in "the ten words." The view just proposed of Moses' convictions and labours is confirmed by the critical investigation which we have so far instituted.

* Comp. Note II. at the end of this Chapter.

But we must now go further and subject the separate commandments, in so far as they awaken suspicion, to a closer scrutiny. Here the second and the fourth words, the warning against the use of images and the institution of the Sabbath, come especially under consideration. With this examination, our inquiry regarding the rest of the ordinances of Moses, his regulations for worship and all that belongs to it, will naturally be connected.

We can deal briefly with the fourth word, the institution of the Sabbath. We have already seen* that the observance of the seventh day of the week was presumably connected with the worship of the planet Saturn, but had been adopted and at the same time modified by Jahvism. The question now arises, when did this happen? We can demonstrate historically that the prohibition to work was gradually made stricter: in the Pentateuch we already find precepts which are closely akin to the narrow and minute regulations laid down by the Jewish scribes.† It is further evident—it is apparent at once from a comparison of the two versions of "the ten words"—that the keeping of the Sabbath was insisted upon at one time for one reason and at another for another reason. But in the centuries after Moses we do not find any period at which the consecration of the seventh day—a custom involving a radical change in the whole national life—can have been introduced. In the eighth century B.C., the Sabbath already existed in the kingdoms of Ephraim and Judah.‡ It must thus date from the times before the separation of the one from the other. But it is nowhere intimated, and in itself is improbable, that it was introduced into use by David or Solomon or in the period of the Judges. So we are led to place the institution of the Sabbath in the Mosaic time. Or rather, as we see that the Pentateuch attributes the consecration of the seventh day to Moses and it is

* Above, p. 244 seq., comp. p. 263 seq.

† Exod. xvi. 22—30, xxxi. 12—18, xxxv. 1—3; Num. xv. 32—36.

‡ Above, p. 242.

even included in the Decalogue, we do not find any reason to reject this testimony. If the worship of Kewán was already widely diffused among the sons of Israel in Goshen,* it is not at all strange that Moses, to promote the adoration of Jahveh, should have borrowed one of the practices of that worship and have made it a part of Jahvism.

Moses' attitude towards the worship of images is a very disputed point. The second of the ten words† forbids it without reserve, but—is strongly suspected to have been re-moulded and enlarged. Its great length of itself alone gives rise to this presumption. If it embraced nothing more than the words, "thou shalt have none other gods before my face," we should not think of calling it incomplete: the rest is superfluous, and is therefore suspected. Besides this, it has been remarked‡ that the words, "thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of anything that is in heaven above or on the earth beneath, or in the waters under the earth"—sever the connection between the preceding and the following sentences, and that after these words have been removed, nothing remains but the prohibition to serve other gods. Thus "the ten words" themselves alone give abundant ground for throwing doubt upon the Mosaic origin of the warning against images. But history also seems distinctly to bear witness against it. The worship of Jahveh under the form of a bull was very general in Israel in later times; and in the kingdom of Ephraim, during the two and a half centuries of its existence, it was the religion of the state:§ is it likely then that Moses expressly declared himself opposed to it? According to a narrative in the book of Judges, a grandson of Moses, Jonathan ben Gershom, served as a priest at Dan in a temple in which a graven image of Jahveh was placed:‖ would the commandment of the lawgiver have been broken in this way by the members

* Comp. p. 245. † Exod. xx. 3—6; Deut. v. 7—10.

‡ Prof. M. J. de Goeje, in *Theol. Tijdschrift*, II. 176 seq.

§ Above, pp. 235 seq. ‖ Judges xviii. 30; comp. above, pp. 261 seq.

of his own family? Again, the author of the books of Kings informs us* that Hezekiah "brake in pieces the brazen serpent which Moses had made, for unto those days the Israelites had burned incense in honour of that serpent, and it was called *Nehushtan*" (*i.e.* "brass-god"): surely this implies that Moses was not so averse to images as the Pentateuch represents him to have been?

The same weight as evidence cannot be attached to all these facts. The last, especially, signifies very little, or, at all events, not what it seems to signify. When the historian speaks of "the brazen serpent *which Moses had made*," he has in view the well-known narrative† that Moses, at Jahveh's command, when the people were bitten by serpents in the wilderness, put a brazen image of one of these reptiles upon a pole, and that it became the means of curing those who turned their eyes towards it. This narrative is older than the author of the books of Kings,‡ and was no doubt accepted by him as worthy of credit. Nor does he hesitate to name Moses as the maker of the serpent, because he believes him to be innocent of the abuse which was afterwards made of it. We do not know whether Hezekiah already took the Nehushtan for a product of the Mosaic time: if he did, he certainly did not believe that Moses had intended it for an object of adoration; if he did not, we cannot with confidence ascribe its construction to Moses. If it be thought, however, that we must infer from the narrative in Numbers that the brazen serpent was generally attributed to Moses; if it be held that the narrative was written for the purpose of showing that the lawgiver had erected the serpent as a symbol of Jahveh's mercy, and not as the image either of Jahveh or of any other deity, it will surely be allowed that such a popular belief with respect to the origin of the sacred brazen serpent can very well have been an error. If it proves anything, it proves only this, that the people knew nothing of a Mosaic prohibition so absolute

* 2 Kings xviii. 4. † Num. xxi. 4—9.

‡ The Deuteronomist was acquainted with it, as is evident from Deut. viii. 15.

as that which appears in the Decalogue. But, it must be admitted, this ignorance alone is a strong argument against the high antiquity of that prohibition. The same applies to the other two facts to which we referred above. If we assume—what may indeed be said to be highly probable—that the image of the bull was already in use among the Israelites before Moses, it is very natural that it should have also remained in use after him, even granting that he set himself emphatically against it. The *existence* of the bull-worship, therefore, is no sufficient argument against the supposition that Moses forbade any image of Jahveh. But the fact that this form of Jahveh-worship *continued to exist undisturbed* is very difficult to reconcile with that supposition.—There is one fact, however, of which we may not lose sight in this investigation. From the Mosaic times downward there always existed in Israel a worship of Jahveh without an image. Scarcely any tradition of Hebrew antiquity is better guaranteed than that which derives *the ark of Jahveh* from the lawgiver himself. We need not repeat here what we have already said about this sanctuary.* We regard it as established, then, that ideas of a somewhat sensuous character were entertained concerning it. Moses, too, may have shared in them. At all events, we are not justified in denying that he believed that the ark was the abode of Jahveh, and that therefore the latter had, in the most proper sense, set up his tabernacle among his people. But—and this is the reason why we refer to the ark here—if Moses believed this, and accordingly offered the common sacrifices before the ark, then he himself certainly did not erect an image of Jahveh, much less ordain the use of one. We are inclined to go a step further. May we not conclude from the fact that Moses attached so much importance to the ark, that the images of Jahveh did not fully harmonize with his conception of Jahveh's nature and character? If he had really received a deep impression of Jahveh's majesty, and of the vast difference

* Above, pp. 231 seq., 255 seq.

between him and the "other gods," is it not extremely natural that he should not have been altogether satisfied with the image of the bull, which was immediately connected with the usual nature-worship, and led men again and again to sink into it? The conclusion is easily drawn. Moses did not definitely and expressly forbid the use of Jahveh-images. But still less did he promote it. He even opposed it indirectly, by raising the ark to be Israel's central sanctuary. The prohibition, "thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image," was not decreed by him, but at a much later period, although it was done in conformity with his spirit.

A closer study of the fourth and second commandments reminded us that Moses found various customs and practices current among the sons of Israel, which he generally had to leave in existence, or could at most modify. Among these customs is to be reckoned, among others, *circumcision*. We have already seen that it was quite in harmony with the original character of Israel's tutelary god.* We may thus assume that it was already in use among the tribes in Goshen, but also, according to tradition,† Moses retained it, and adopted it as a part of Jahvism. We may suppose him to have done the same with the *dedication of the first-born*, and to have specially prescribed that first-born sons were to be redeemed from Jahveh by an offering. This was the only way to prevent human sacrifice, which undoubtedly made its appearance now and then in Goshen: the idea upon which it is founded—"Jahveh has a right to the lives of his subjects, and is worshipped by the sacrifice of those lives"—this idea was in harmony also with the Mosaic notion of Jahveh's nature. But it does not appear that Moses desired and prescribed an actual human sacrifice, even in rare instances and as an exception. From the human sacrifice proper we must certainly distinguish the *ban*, or *cherem*, which originally was applied to malefactors and other enemies of Jahveh, and sometimes also

* Above, pp. 238 seq. † Exod. iv. 24–26; Lev. xii. 3.

to their possessions.* *Cherem* is properly *dedication* to Jahveh, which in reality amounted to destruction or annihilation. The persons who were "dedicated," generally by a solemn vow, to Jahveh, were put to death, frequently by fire, whereby the resemblance to an ordinary burnt-offering was rendered still more apparent; their dwellings and property were also consumed by fire; their lands were left uncultivated for ever. Such punishments were very common in the ancient world. But in Israel, as elsewhere, they were at the same time religious acts, and thus bear witness to the idea which was formed of the nature of the deity. On account, therefore, of such a phenomenon as the ban, as well as on other grounds, we are not wrong in seeing in Jahveh a severe being, and in maintaining his affinity to the nature-gods, who were considered to be hostile to mankind, and to require propitiation by sacrifices. But at the same time, Jahveh's moral character is brought to light in the *cherem*, for it is applied to those who have transgressed his precepts, or in any way have opposed him.

These few remarks are all that we need make with regard to the Mosaic ordinances. It is true that the laws of the Pentateuch regulate minutely the whole worship, and the extraction, rights and duties of the priests, and besides this contain a number of precepts for civil and domestic life. But it is an established fact, that these laws, as they stand there, are of much later date, and that in the course of time the matters to which they apply have been regulated in very different ways. Not unfrequently the Pentateuch embraces the laws which have been in force at different periods with respect to one and the same thing—for instance, the festivals and the priests. It is just these modifications which render it improbable, in our estimation, that Moses gave any precepts at all relating to these

* The principal legal definitions are Exod. xxii. 19; Lev. xxvii.; Deut. vii. 2, xx. 17, xiii. 13—18. Comp. also Num. xxi. 2, 3; Deut. ii. 34, 35, iii. 6, 7; Josh. vii.; 1 Sam. xv.

subjects. A law from his hand would gladly have been respected, and retained unaltered. Priests and festivals certainly existed in his time. The members of his family probably performed the priestly functions on solemn occasions and at the common sanctuary. But this did not curtail the right of the head of every house, and especially the heads of the families and tribes, to offer sacrifices themselves. As religious festivals were celebrated before Moses' time, so also they continued to be while the people were under his guidance. But the circumstances of the period rendered fixed laws respecting them impossible. In the Mosaic time, Israel was in a state of transition. New homes had to be sought, but had not been found when Moses died. It is true that the tribes had established themselves in the trans-Jordanic region,* but there they were neither able nor willing to remain permanently. Their eyes were still turned towards Canaan proper. A fixed form for their common worship was not to be thought of until they had found their new country.

It is undoubtedly to be wished that we possessed greater certainty with regard to all these points. There is something unsatisfactory in that constantly repeated "perhaps," which has had to occur but too often in our representation of the ideas, and especially of the ordinances, of Moses. But the reader should guard against the opinion that our doubt with respect to many particulars must exercise an injurious influence upon the remainder of our survey. The historical significance of Moses by no means lies in that which he may have prescribed concerning religious worship or civil life. We repeat, it is Moses' great work and enduring merit—not that he introduced into Israel any particular religious forms and practices, but—that he established the service of Jahveh among his people upon a moral footing. "I will be to you a god, and ye shall be to me a people." So speaks Jahveh, through Moses, to

* Above, pp. 140—142.

the Israelitish tribes.* This reciprocal covenant between Jahveh and his people, sealed by the deliverance from Egyptian bondage, is guaranteed by the fact that the ark, Jahveh's dwelling-place, accompanies the Israelites on the journey in the desert, and afterwards remains established in their midst. Thus, in the eyes of the people, its observance is provided for on Jahveh's part. But on their part also the people must remain faithful to the conditions of the pact concluded with Jahveh. These conditions are principally moral ones. This is the great thing. Jahveh is dintinguished from the rest of the gods in this, that he will be served, not merely by sacrifices and feasts, but also, nay, in the first place, by the observance of the moral commandments which form the chief contents of "the ten words."

After all that has preceded, it cannot be difficult for us to answer the question, whether Moses attained the end which, as a prophet of Jahveh, he set before himself. In a certain sense, yes, completely. The service of Jahveh was established by him in Israel, and for good. The consciousness that a peculiar and intimate relation existed between the god in whose name Moses came forward and the tribes of Israel never died out. The difference between Jahveh and the other gods also remained in recollection. But beyond this there is scarcely anything to be said. After the settlement of the tribes in Canaan, it was to appear that their formation into one nation was not guaranteed by the service of the common god. If we may believe tradition, it had already become evident, while Moses was yet alive, that his authority was not acknowledged by all and continually. It mentions repeated conflicts between the Israelites and their leader.† Most of the narratives of this description which have come down to us are unhistorical. But in so far as they place

* We find this formula in Exod. vi. 7; Lev. xxvi. 45; Deut. xxix. 13. Comp. the form of speech, "I, Jahveh, am thy god," which occurs constantly in the Pentateuch.

† Comp., among other passages, Exod. xvi., xvii. 1—7, xxxii.—xxxiv.; Num. xi. xii. xiii. xiv. xvi. xvii., xx. 1—3, xxv.

before us Israel's obtuseness, we do not hesitate to see in them an expression of the truth. In the first years after the deliverance, there could not but be elements of resistance and discord in such a mixed multitude, after a period of humiliating and crushing slavery. Therefore we readily assume that Moses had more than once to suppress rebellious movements. And with regard to his prophetic labours in particular, what is more natural than that there should have been but a chosen few to whom he could impart his conception of Jahveh's nature and of his will regarding Israel's relation to him? The greater number necessarily remained blind to the distinction between their former tribal god and the god in whose name Moses spoke, and this the more, because the latter himself wished to be regarded, not as the interpreter of another deity, but as a prophet of the god of their fathers. Thus the popular religion remained in many respects the same as before. The worship of other gods, perhaps, became somewhat less prominent, but nevertheless continued to exist.* The Jahveh-images, displaced from the public religious service by the ark of Jahveh, were retained elsewhere. In a word, whatever distinguished Moses from his nation remained his personal property and that of a few kindred spirits; only so much of it as was reconcilable with the popular views was admitted into them. Under Moses' influence Israel took a step forwards, but it was only one step. It was not to appear until long afterwards that this step had been decisive, and had placed the people on a path which led straight to a fair and noble termination.

II.—*The Period of the Judges.*

Upon reading the historical books of the Old Testament successively, we receive a sad impression of the period which now opens before us. Under the guidance of Moses, and espe-

* Am. v. 26; Ezek. xx. 10—26; Josh. xxiv. 23.

cially during the conquest, under the command of Joshua, the people had been characterized upon the whole by concord and a disposition to aid one another, by fidelity to the service of Jahveh and submission to his precepts. But in the centuries of which the book of Judges gives an account, they present a spectacle of disunion, confusion, and apostasy from Jahveh. We are already aware, however, that this impression does not correspond with what this period was in reality. In their description of the political condition of the tribes, the historians start from suppositions which cannot be admitted, and which are contradicted by the very documents from which they take their accounts. If, as is reasonable, we set aside these suppositions, the period of the Judges at once appears before us in another light: a modification of our judgment naturally follows on the adoption of a different standard. We have already pointed out the distinction between our conception and that of the historians. The unity of Israel in the Mosaic time must be regarded as a temporary co-operation of the tribes towards one end, and the conquest of Canaan as the work of more than one generation; thus the time of the Judges becomes the period of the growth of the national unity, which was consummated provisionally, for the first time, towards the end of this period under Samuel and Saul.*

It can surprise no one that our conception of Israel's religious development during the period of the Judges differs from that of the Hebrew historians as much as our views of the political condition of the nation diverges from theirs. If we have formed an idea which is not altogether inadmissible of the Israelitish tribes under Moses, we may not entertain any great expectations with respect to their religious standpoint immediately after the settlement in Canaan. We are not at liberty, then, to test them by the Mosaic law—as the author of Judges does—for of this there existed at that time but a very small portion at most, and even that little had by no means become the property of the

* See above, pp. 142—150.

multitude, and cannot therefore furnish a standard by which to judge them. Here, too, we must abandon the suppositions on which the historian proceeds in his description. This we do the more readily because the facts handed down to us in the historical narratives are hardly to be reconciled with those suppositions; this, in the first place, confirms and maintains our former view. But at the same time it thus becomes apparent, that we are not left without the means of substituting for the traditional conception another, which will represent the reality more perfectly. Let us then collect the various details and bring them into connection with the preceding sketch of the Mosaic time.

In the first place, there is no doubt that Jahveh was worshipped in Israel during the period of the Judges. His name occurs in proper names of this epoch,* although not very frequently, which is easily accounted for by the fact that it had been in use but a short time. What is more, Jahveh was regarded as "the god of Israel," and Israel as "the people of Jahveh." We find both expressions in the song of Deborah,† which certainly was not only composed, but also written down, within the limits of this period. It is evident from more than one consideration, that they represent a widely-spread conviction. At Shiloh there stands a temple called "the house of God," "the house" or "the temple of Jahveh," where Israelites assemble from various parts of the country to sacrifice and keep the feasts.‡ The ark of Jahveh, which was usually kept in this sanctuary at Shiloh, is hailed with loud acclamations upon its arrival in the camp of the Israelites, as a pledge of victory over the Philistines.§ In the north of the land also, at Dan, there stood a temple of Jahveh.‖ Jephthah the Gileadite, the leader of the trans-Jordanic tribes in the war against the Ammonites, makes a vow to

* Joash (Judges vi. 11 seq.); Jotham (Judges ix. 5 seq.); Jonathan ben Gershom (Judges xviii. 30); Joel and Abiah (1 Sam. viii. 2); Jonathan ben Saul (1 Sam. xiii. 2 seq.).

† Judges v. 3, 5, 11.

‡ Judges (xix. 18), xx. 19 seq.; 1 Sam. i.—iii.

§ 1 Sam. iv. 3 seq.

‖ Judges xviii. 29—31.

Jahveh, which, on account of its fatal results, remained alive in the memory of the people, and the historical character of which cannot therefore be doubted.* The other judges also appear as worshippers of Jahveh. Here and there it may be uncertain whether this is anything more than a supposition of the historian, though, with regard to some of them, this supposition finds support in the tradition which he communicates to us concerning them. So the belief that they were worshippers of Jahveh is supported in the case of Barak, by the aid which he received from Deborah,† and perhaps in the case of Gideon, by the war-cries "for Jahveh and for Gideon," and "the sword of Jahveh and of Gideon."‡ The sequel of our investigations will show that Samuel and Saul also acknowledged the intimate relation between Jahveh and Israel.

It will be perceived that we unhesitatingly recognize in Jahveh the god of Israel, even when we meet with the word in proper names and in ancient documents such as the song of Deborah. We have already set forth the reasons for which we consider this name to be distinctly Israelitish:§ in the book of Judges, at all events, there is not a single circumstance which would compel us to abandon this opinion. But it is possible that Israel's tribal god might be denoted by other names as well during the period of the Judges. If Moses introduced the name of Jahveh, it is even very likely that the older names should have remained in use besides. This will readily be admitted with regard to El-Shaddai.‖ But may not either all or some of the worshippers of Israel's god have made use of other names also, *e.g.* that of Baal? The meaning of this word ("lord") is not opposed to this use. But we have no positive proof of its being employed.¶ It has been thought that traces of it have been discovered in proper names of the period of the Judges,

* Judges xi. 30, 31. † Judges iv. v. ‡ Judges vii. 18, 20.

§ Above, p. 278, and Note III. at the end of this Chapter.

‖ Above, pp. 271, 278. ¶ Comp. Note IV. at the end of this Chapter.

but it is a question whether these names should not be interpreted differently. We shall revert to this hereafter, but we have thought it necessary to draw attention here to the possible difference between the worship of Jahveh and that of Israel's tribal god: the first idea is less comprehensive than the second.

We return to the recognition of Jahveh as the god of Israel during the period of the Judges. In estimating it, everything depends upon the question, what were then the prevalent ideas with regard to Jahveh's power and nature: is it possible to arrive at certainty upon this point? The supposition that by far the greater part of the people made no essential distinction between Jahveh and the other gods, whose existence therefore they did not doubt, recommends itself on more grounds than one. The author of the book of Judges, or rather one of his predecessors, puts into Jephthah's mouth an expression which, unless we be mistaken, accurately represents the opinions of those days. The Ammonites had appropriated part of the territory of the trans-Jordanic tribes, Jephthah demands its restoration, and points out to them that as the disputed land was taken from the Amorites by Israel after the exodus from Egypt, it was given to Israel by Jahveh. "Wilt thou not," he says to their king, "possess the land which Chemosh thy god giveth thee for an inheritance? So shall we possess the land of all whom Jahveh our god hath driven out before us."* Chemosh and Jahveh stand here upon the same level; the sphere of the latter's activity is just as much limited to Israel as that of the former is to Ammon. This, then, must have been the opinion of by far the larger portion of the people during the period of the Judges. There are two series of facts, in particular, which lead to this conclusion: the manner in which Jahveh was then worshipped, and the adoration of other gods beside him.

No one yet thought of confining the worship of Jahveh to a single spot. Altars and small sanctuaries to Jahveh were

* Judges xi. 24.

erected all over the land. It was even considered meritorious to build such places of sacrifice;* men such as Samuel made use of them without hesitation.† No description is given us anywhere of the arrangement in these sanctuaries and of the services held there. But what we are told of Micah's chapel on Mount Ephraim and of the Jahveh-worship at Dan,‡ leads us to presume that images of Jahveh were employed in them. Were these, as in later times, in the form of a bull? We cannot positively prove this, but we think it very probable—even in the case of the sanctuary built by Gideon in his native town of Ophrah.§ As elements of Micah's religious worship we also find the "ephod and teraphim," of which first one of his sons, and afterwards the Levite, who served him as priests, made use in inquiring into the future.‖ From what the same narrative tells us of the Levite, we gather that the Levites were considered as fitted, not exclusively, it is true, but yet above others, for performing priestly functions,¶ a circumstance which is very easily explained, if, as we assumed above,** they already enjoyed a certain preference in this respect in the time of Moses. As far as the sacrifices and the festivals are concerned, we are told that the temple at Shiloh was visited once every year by the worshippers of Jahveh,†† probably on the occasion of the feast which was celebrated there by, among other things, choral dances,‡‡ no doubt after the end of the vintage. Bullocks and sheep were the usual offerings.§§ But it is evident from the example of Jephthah, that Jahveh was also worshipped with human sacrifices. His vow‖‖ proves as clearly that such a

* 1 Sam. xiv. 35.

† 1 Sam. vii. 17, ix. 14, 19, &c.

‡ Judges xvii. xviii.; comp. above, p. 261.

§ Judges viii. 24—27.

‖ Comp. above, pp. 96—100.

¶ Judges xvii.

** P. 292.

†† 1 Sam. i. 3, ii. 19.

‡‡ Judges xxi. 19, 23.

§§ Judges vi. 19 seq., 25 seq., xiii. 19; 1 Sam. i. 24, 25, vii. 9, &c.

‖‖ Judges xi. 30, 31. From the words, "Whoever cometh forth out of the door of my house to meet me," it is evident that Jephthah promises a human sacrifice.

sacrifice was in use in the Jahveh-worship of the day, as that it was a rarity: Jephthah wishes to assure himself of Jahveh's help by means of an extraordinary gift, and of course his promise is founded upon the belief that such a gift is pleasing to him. We also find at this epoch undoubted examples* of the *cherem*, which we have already explained.†

Upon putting all this together, we receive the impression that the Jahveh-worship must have evinced very great similarity to the worship of the kindred deities among the neighbouring Semitic tribes. Would it then be hazardous to suppose that generally the difference between Jahveh and those other gods was not deeply felt? The other fact, however, to which we referred, the worshipping of other gods besides Jahveh, is of still greater significance.

It is well known that the author or last editor of the book of Judges makes mention of it more than once. According to him, that series of national misfortunes which assailed Israel during this period, must be accounted for by the worship of these false gods. What he writes upon this subject, however, inspires us with but little confidence. In the first place, the fickleness of which he accuses the Israelites of those days is very difficult to conceive. They "forget Jahveh, their god, serve the Baalim and Asheras," are punished on this account by Jahveh and return to him full of penitence, whereupon a deliverer is raised up for them and the enemy who oppresses them is repelled or destroyed; yet after the prosperity has lasted for a time, the defection begins all over again. Nothing is more apparent than that the idolatry of the Israelites of those days is inferred by the author as a conclusion from the calamities which befel them. He did not trouble himself about the psychological improbability of such sudden changes as he sketches. He does not transfer himself to the standpoint of the Israelite of that time, and makes no attempt

* Josh. vii. 24—26; Judges xx.; 1 Sam. xv. 3 seq., 33.

† Above, pp. 290 seq.

to form from that position a fair estimate of Israel's religious condition. He knows and employs no other standard than the ideas of his own time, *i.e.* of the sixth or the fifth century B.C. In the second place, it does not escape our attention that his statements as to the gods to whose service the Israelites gave themselves up, are very indefinite. In two places he names Baal (or, in the plural, Baalim) and the Astartes*—deities which also occur in the history of Samuel's life, although only in its most recent portions.† But in another place he mentions the Baalim and the Asheras,‡ while elsewhere again "the gods of the Amorites" and those of many surrounding nations are named.§ Some have drawn definite conclusions from these testimonies and have inferred from them, *e.g.*, that there is no distinction between Astarte and Ashera. This is incorrect. They certainly show that the author made no distinction between these two goddesses. But that was not necessary, for he had only to do with the idea that the Israelites during the period of the Judges served *the gods and goddesses* of the Canaanites; these he designates by the general appellations, the Baalim and the Asheras or the Astartes. We find no other trace of the worship of the last-mentioned goddess before the time of Solomon;‖ the authority of our author is insufficient to guarantee the existence of her worship at an earlier period; we do not therefore see any reason to accept it as historical.¶ The author of Judges and of 1 Samuel teaches us nothing but this one thing, that other gods were reverenced by the Israelites besides Jahveh.

Fortunately we are not without means of completing this, as yet very indefinite, information. We can consult the older narratives which the author of Judges included in his book, often without altering them. Enlightened by their positive evidence,

* Judges ii. 13, x. 6. † 1 Sam. vii. 3, 4, xii. 10. ‡ Judges iii. 7.

§ Judges vi. 10, x. 6. ‖ 1 Kings xi. 5, 33; 2 Kings xxiii. 13.

¶ Comp. also above, p. 90.

we may then draw conclusions from some isolated phenomena and scattered hints.

One of the records included in the book of Judges makes it very likely that the Israelites took part in the Canaanitish worship of Baal. It is Judges ix., the history of Abimelech. There we read of a temple at Shechem dedicated to Baal-berith, *i.e.* Baal of the covenant.* The narrative itself seems to tell us what "covenant" is meant, when it represents to us Abimelech as ruler, not only over the Shechemites, who had voluntarily acknowledged him as such,† but also over a number of other cities, among which Arumah and Thebez are mentioned by name.‡ Probably before Abimelech's government there already existed a confederation headed by Shechem, of which the Shechemitish Baal-temple was the sanctuary. Abimelech became king over all the members of this league; from the statement that he "reigned three years *over Israel*,"§ we may even conclude that his authority extended still further. Now it deserves our attention that a great part of the population of Shechem were Canaanites. The quarrel between Abimelech and part of the citizens was encouraged, according to the narrative, by a certain Gaal the son of Ebed, who settled at Shechem with his relations. At the time of the vintage, this man managed to bring things to a crisis, and the rebellion burst out. "Who is Abimelech?" said he; "and who is the son of Shechem, that we should serve him? Is he not a son of Jerubbaal, and is not Zebul his officer? Let the men of Hamor, the father of Shechem, serve him! For why should *we* serve him?"‖ Nothing is more obvious than that Gaal and his party—among whom are also some inhabitants of Shechem—are here distinguished from "the men of Hamor, the father of Shechem," and that it is the latter to whom Abimelech owed his election, and who still sided with

* Judges ix. 4, 27, 46, comp. viii. 33.
† Judges ix. 1 seq.
‡ Judges ix. 31 (for *privily* read *at Arumah*).
§ Judges ix. 22.
‖ Judges ix. 28. Comp. *Theol. Tijdschrift*, I. 704, and the authors named there.

him: now those men were Hevites.* But then surely it is natural to ascribe a Canaanitish origin both to the confederation of which Shechem was the head, and to the worship of Baal-berith, although—as the narrative plainly shows—the Israelites also were admitted into the league after the settlement in Canaan, and took part in the worship of Baal. We cannot wonder that the service of this god had great attractions for the foreign invaders. It was very natural that they also should pay homage to the gods of the land. In Canaan they learnt to know the wine "which cheereth god and man."† In the temples of Baal jovial repasts and carousals were held:‡ was it not a matter of course that the Israelites also attended them? If we remember how far their Jahveh-worship was yet below monotheism, we shall call it the most natural thing in the world that they should have placed Baal beside Jahveh, or have identified their tribal god with the gods of the land.

In other places also of the narratives in the book of Judges mention is made of the worship of Baal. Thus we read that an altar was built in his honour at Ophrah, in the territory of the tribe of Manasseh, on this side of the Jordan, which the Israelitish inhabitants of the city also regarded as sacred.§ But the credibility of this statement is not above suspicion, as will be seen more clearly by and by. It is worthy of credit, however, in so far as it connects the worship of Ashera with that of Baal.‖ These two deities are connected together: we might assume that the goddess too had her worshippers in Israel, even were we not expressly told so. We therefore follow without suspicion both the author of Judges¶ and the story of Gideon, when both mention her worship. We have already stated that in later times also an *ashera, i.e.* the symbol of the goddess of

* Comp. Gen. xxxiv. 2 seq.

† Judges ix. 13.

‡ Judges ix. 27; comp. Am. ii. 8.

§ Judges vi. 25 seq.

‖ Judges vi. 25, 26 (for *grove* read *ashera*; comp. above, pp. 88 seq.

¶ In the passage quoted above, chap. iii. 7.

that name, was driven into the ground near the altar of Jahveh —a custom which was undoubtedly borrowed from the Canaanitish Baal-worship. The repeated warnings of the Pentateuch against the *asheras*, as elements of the idolatry of the Canaanites,* also favour the supposition that the Israelites were not sparing in the homage they paid to Baal's consort.

Furnished with the knowledge of these facts, we will now fix our attention upon some other phenomena. We have already remarked that proper names belonging to the period of the Judges, and the years immediately succeeding it, are compounded with *Baal*. We must now give this phenomenon our special consideration. The names referred to are: Jerubbaal, the same as Gideon;† Eshbaal and Merib-baal, elsewhere Ishbosheth, and Mephibosheth, the son and grandson of Saul;‡ Beeliada, elsewhere Eliada, a son of David.§ As we acknowledged above, it is not inconceivable that the god of Israel should have been designated by the name of Baal. This, however, cannot be said to be probable. It is very evident that these names gave offence in later times. It was for this reason that "bosheth," *i.e.* shame, was substituted for Baal.‖ It is also for this reason that the historian explains the name Jerubbaal in such a way that, instead of its involving the recognition of Baal as a deity, it seems to be directed against the worship of Baal: it is stated, namely, to have been given to Gideon, because Baal had a dispute to settle with him.¶ Such attempts as this

* Exod. xxxiv. 13; Deut. vii. 5, xii. 3. † Judges vi. seq.

‡ 1 Chr. viii. 33, 34, ix. 39, 40, comp. with 2 Sam. ii. 8 seq., iv. 4, &c.

§ 1 Chr. xiv. 7, comp. iii. 8, and 2 Sam. v. 16. The overseer of David's olive-yards is called, in 1 Chr. xxvii. 28, Baal-hanan; but he may have been an Edomite, as well as his namesake in Gen. xxxvi. 38.

‖ This is already done by Hosea (ch. ix. 10) and Jeremiah (ch. iii. 24, xi. 13). In imitation of them were formed the proper names, Ishbosheth, Mephibosheth (above, note ‡), and Jerubbesheth=Jerubbaal, 2 Sam. xi. 21 (where the Greek translator still read Jerubbaal, so that the alteration here spoken of was introduced at a very late period).

¶ Judges vi. 25 seq. Comp. Note IV. at the end of this Chapter.

arouse or strengthen the suspicion that these names preserved the remembrance of a fact by which a later generation was offended, *i.e.* that of the worship of a deity named Baal, *distinct from Jahveh*. There is not a single valid objection to the position that this deity was no other than the Canaanitish Baal—if it be only borne in mind that the worship of Baal and that of Jahveh by no means excluded one another at that period. Jerubbaal was presumably the original name of the famous judge, and Gideon (*i.e.* "hewer," which may be compared with Martel and Maccabi) his surname, from which the idea that he had hewn down the altar of Baal and the *ashera** was subsequently developed. In that case, Baal was worshipped in the family to which this judge belonged, and this notwithstanding that his father Joash bears a name compounded with Jahveh. So also Saul, the father of Eshbaal, has a Jonathan ("Jahveh has given"), and the latter again a Merib-baal, among his sons: if the supposition, that in this family also a foreign deity was worshipped, be considered irreconcilable with the zeal which Saul as king displayed for the adoration of Jahveh, let it be remembered that, after his elevation to the throne, he may to some extent have thought and acted otherwise than he had formerly done. But more of this shortly.

There is no doubt that these proper names have come down from the period of the Judges: it is only as to the conclusions to be drawn from them that difference of opinion can exist. With the phenomena which we are now about to point out, the case is somewhat different. In the Old Testament some *sacred stones and trees* are connected with incidents in the lives of the patriarchs;† among the narratives in which this happens, there are some which go back as far as the eighth century before our era; if so high an antiquity could be ascribed then to those sacred objects, they certainly are not younger than the period of

* Comp. again Note IV. at the end of this Chapter.

† *E.g.* Gen. xii. 6 and 7, 8, xiii. 18, xxi. 33.

the Judges. Our conviction that at that time the stone and tree worship was not uncommon among the Israelites, is strengthened by the fact that a few of the best known sacred stones were held to have been memorials of Joshua's deeds of heroism or of the settlement in Canaan.* Others, of which we do not meet with any historical explanation, can be referred, at all events with probability, to the same period.† It was quite natural, in the circumstances of the case, that the tribes of Israel should either have hallowed such stones in places which for some reason or other were memorable in their estimation, and have assembled by them from time to time, or, following in the footsteps of the natives, should have adopted the sacred stones which they found in the country as objects of religious worship. "The graven images" which, according to a narrative in the book of Judges,‡ were to be found in the neighbourhood of Gilgal, were perhaps also of Canaanitish origin, but the Israelites would surely n[illegible] have spared them, if they had not been, or had not gradua[illegible] become, holy in their estimation also.

There are other traces also of the participation of the Israeli[illegible] in the religion of the Canaanites. Beth-shemesh, "house" "temple of the sun," is the name of a town situated upon border-line between the tribes of Dan and Judah. It was already in existence when the tribes penetrated into Canaan,§ and thus affords proof that the former inhabitants of those districts worshipped *the sun*. Should it therefore appear that the worship of the sun had been introduced among the Danites—and perhaps also in a part of Judah—then it could be said to be at least probable that they had taken it from the Canaanites in the midst

* Josh. iv. v. (the sacred stones in the camp at Gilgal), xxii. (the memorial stone erected by the trans-Jordanic tribes).

† *E.g.* the stone of Bohan, the son of Reuben (Josh. xv. 6, xviii. 17); "the great stone" at Gibeon (2 Sam. xx. 8). See further, upon the whole of this subject, Note I. at the end of this Chapter.

‡ Judges iii. 19, 26.

§ Josh. xv. 10, xix. 41 (Ir-shemesh, not distinct from Beth-shemesh); 1 Sam. vi. 12 seq.

of whom they dwelt. Now we have proof of this sun-worship among the Danites in the story of Samson.* In its present form it sketches to us the heroic deeds of a Danite, who is dedicated as a Nazarite from his birth, torments the Philistines in all sorts of ways in his youth and manhood, and finally, after breaking his vow, is overpowered by them, but revenges himself upon them at the moment of his death. It is generally acknowledged both that Samson is most improperly called "a judge of Israel,"† since his deeds decidedly do not aim at the liberation of his tribe, much less of his nation, and that most of these deeds far exceed the bounds of credibility.‡ The two-fold supposition, that the editor of Judges is wrong in including Samson among the liberators of Israel, and that the story very much exaggerates his physical powers, accounts, to a certain degree at least, for these phenomena. But there still remain other features of the narratives relating to Samson which are not at all or very imperfectly explained by this means. The requisite light cannot be thrown upon these particulars, unless we assume that Samson was originally a mythical being, *the sun-hero*, the personal representative, therefore, of the operations and fortunes of the sun. The great resemblance between Samson and Hercules has long been noticed: it can only be explained by the supposition advanced above; many of the features of the originally Grecian Hercules, namely, are borrowed from the Semitic sun-myths, so that it is but natural that he should resemble Samson, if the latter be derived from the Canaanitish sun-worship, which is scarcely to be distinguished from that of the Phœnicians. This interpretation is further recommended by the name Samson (really Shimshôn), which is a derivative from the Hebrew word for "sun" (shemesh). But the principal proof of its correctness lies in those features of the story of which the mythical explanation

* Judges xiii.—xvi. † Judges xv. 20, xvi. 31 b, comp. xiii. 5 b.

‡ Comp. my *Hk. O.* I. 217, notes 1, 2; but many other examples can be added to those mentioned there.

alone unveils the sense, while, considered simply as history, they remain inexplicable. Is it not most remarkable, for instance, that Samson is called a Nazarite, but has, properly speaking, nothing in common with the Nazarites but his long hair, originally the symbol of the rays of the sun? Is it not evident from this that Samson has been *made* a Nazarite, although, with the exception of this one feature, his whole history is opposed to this conception? Do we not discover the only satisfactory solution of Samson's well-known riddle*—which remains a riddle so long as we think of an ordinary lion, in the carcass of which bees are not accustomed to deposit honey—when we find in it the idea that the sun produces sweet honey when he is in the constellation of Leo? But it cannot be my purpose to work out here the mythical explanation of the story.† As it lies before us in the book of Judges, it proves, on the one hand, that the Israelites in later times had reached a point of religious development at which the old myths had lost their meaning, and, for example, the strong, brave man had to take the place of the warlike sun-hero. But on the other hand—and this is the reason why it was necessary to mention this story here—it bears witness of a time at which the worship of nature was prevalent, and nature-myths, akin to those of the rest of the Semites, were in circulation among them. If this fact be admitted, it is impossible to overlook the Canaanitish influence which it manifests.

The general impression which these positive statements and indications leave upon us is this, that the Israelites, in consequence of their settlement in Canaan, adopted religious ideas and practices which had hitherto been foreign to them. Their tribal god, whose worship they brought with them into Canaan, and—as we have already shown—also retained there, belonged

* Judges xiv. 14, 18.

† See H. Steinthal, in the *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie u. Sprachwissenschaft*, edited by him and M. Lazarus, II. 110—120, 129—178. The same interpretation is to be found in Meyboom, *Godsdienst der oude Noormannen*, p. 270.

to a circle of deities which although not entirely unknown in their new fatherland, yet were not adored there in preference. We should rather say that the worship of the fructifying power of nature, the adoration of Baal and Ashera, was that which was most widely spread among the Canaanites, if it did not prevail exclusively. The Israelites now came into closer contact with these deities for the first time. Unless we be altogether mistaken, this was a most important moment in their religious development. The sensuous worship of Baal and Ashera could not well do otherwise than attract the Israelites. The legend places their defection to the worship of Baal-Peor as early as in the trans-Jordanic region and at the end of the journey in the desert.* They were then exposed for the first time to the temptation which the change from the nomadic to the stationary life brings with it, and—many of them were not proof against it. So also in Canaan they allowed themselves to be seduced into sacrificing to the gods of the land, into taking part in the festivals celebrated in their honour, into secluding themselves with the "kedeshas"—the women dedicated to Ashera—and practising unchastity with them.† That which the later historians call their infidelity to Jahveh and stigmatize as adultery, really took place during the period of the Judges. These writers are not wrong in the estimate which they form of the influence exercised upon the Israelites by their settlement in Canaan. It is only with their judgment upon the facts that we are unable to agree. What they impute to the Israelites in the period of the Judges as apostasy and sin, was in the estimation of those men themselves—at all events of by far the most of them—the natural consequence of altered circumstances. Their consciences did not reproach them for the homage which they paid to the gods of Canaan.

* Num. xxv. 1—5 (comp. p. 130, note *).

† See above, pp. 91—93. That which we are told about Judah in Gen. xxxviii. may certainly be applied to the tribe of that name, and will decidedly refer to the period of the Judges.

Far be it from us to suppose that the foregoing remarks contain a complete sketch of the religious state of mind to which the settlement in Canaan gave birth. It cannot be repeated too often that, if we wish to understand the religious development of Israel during the period of the Judges, we must begin by putting aside the idea that there existed at that time one Israelitish nation which followed one and the same direction. The greater we imagine the variety to have been, the closer we come to the truth. Even the tribes which were established in Canaan or roved about there with their flocks and herds, differed from each other, among other things, in religious ideas and practices. Nor did the Israelites all stand on the same level when they penetrated into Canaan. Their relations with the former inhabitants were entirely different in different places. Some districts were inhabited exclusively by Israelites; in others, the Canaanites remained settled, here as tributaries to the foreign invaders, there as their allies, in other places as their masters. There was no central power capable of removing or gradually equalizing this disparity. Must not a motley variety of phenomena naturally have resulted, at first, in the domain of religion, from such a state of affairs? In the absence of historical data, the discovery and description of these phenomena is out of the question. We can only aim at forming a right conception of their general character. To some of the local and temporary combinations of the various elements, therefore, the sketch given above is certainly not at all or only half applicable. But upon the whole it cannot be inaccurate, because it agrees with the general physiognomy of the period of the Judges, and leaves room for all sorts of divergences in particular cases.

There is, however, one more feature to be added to this sketch. Out of the political confusion which we perceive all over Canaan, order and unity were born at last, and in such a manner that—not the Canaanitish, but—the Israelitish element most decidedly had the upper hand. The religious development of which Canaan was the scene, corresponds in general with

this course of events upon political ground. This two-fold result would not have been obtained, if the national consciousness had not been strongly developed in some at least of the Israelites, and if the maintenance of Israel's independence and individuality had not been consciously kept in view and striven after, whether by few or by many. It was to be expected that that national tendency should assert itself now with more, and then again with less force. To many the union with the Canaanites and the adoption of their practices must have seemed dangerous. All attachment to ancestral habits cannot have disappeared, nor can the feeling have been absent that Israel defiled or at all events lowered itself by mixing with the Canaanites. Those who remained faithful to the nomadic life were, not improbably, the most conspicuous for this pride and for their adherence to the traditions of their forefathers. Besides this, the antipathy to the conquered was kept alive and increased by the enmity which some of them continued to bear and to show towards the Israelites. For twenty years—so runs the tradition*—the Israelites were oppressed by Jabin, the Canaanitish king of Hazor. This is undoubtedly no solitary instance. It is as good as certain that on other occasions also the Canaanites harassed their neighbours or joined the foreign foes who pillaged, or imposed a yearly tribute upon, the Israelitish tribes. A city like Jebus, which was constantly regarded as "a city of the stranger,"† was not upon a friendly footing with the Israelites. Therefore it was but natural that some were to be found among the Israelites who insisted upon the expulsion of the Canaanites and zealously opposed all fusion with them. It has been very correctly supposed that the legend of Dinah, Jacob's daughter,‡ presents an example of the vehemence of these zealots. Shechem and his father Hamor represent in this narrative the Canaanites who are inclined to intermarry with Israel, and who submit to the conditions attached to this step. Simeon and Levi consider such a contract an abomination, and feign satisfac-

* Judges iv. 3. † Judges xix. 12. ‡ Gen. xxxiv.

tion with it only to hinder it the more effectually. This narrative—at least in the shape in which we now possess it—already discloses the idea that the violent measures to which the adherents of the strictly national tendency were obliged to resort in order to attain their purpose, were looked upon by many as questionable and dangerous.* This disapprobation is still more evident in the judgment which the so-called blessing of Jacob pronounced upon Simeon and Levi, on account of proceedings of this character.† It was very natural that the exclusive tendency should thus have been censured by many, not only by the multitude whose indifference was combated by the zeal of the defenders of that tendency, but also by the more moderate men, who, either because they feared the Canaanites, or because they were not afraid of their influence, wished to let things take their natural course. The fact that such enthusiasts existed, is that which for the moment awakens our deepest interest. Their struggle for nationality must have been coupled with a more or less pronounced aversion to the Canaanitish religion, and with the desire to preserve Israel's individuality, in religious matters also, inviolate. This desire, it is true, did not quite coincide with that which Moses, according to our former investigations, had had in view: those who, like their forefathers, but yet exactly after their manner, wished to remain polytheists, could also set themselves against the adoption of the foreign Canaanitish elements. But the new danger to which Israel was exposed in Canaan was very likely to bring to remembrance the Mosaic command, "Thou shalt have none other gods before my face," and to awaken and propagate the conviction that Israel was safe only when clinging to Jahveh and serving him alone.

If, however, such an exclusive tendency existed in political and religious matters, then surely the remembrance of its strug-

* Gen. xxxiv. 30.

† Gen. xlix. 5—7. Comp. also Note V. at the end of this Chapter.

gles must have been preserved in other places besides a narrative such as that relating to Dinah, which even, in appearance, is occupied with much earlier times. We must not look to our sources for clear and full information regarding this tendency. The historians whom we are able to consult really ascribe to the whole nation, during the periods in which it was not carried away by temptation, the views which we suppose to have been held by the few. This conviction serves them as a frame into which they fit the traditions which come down to them either in writing or by oral transmission. That which did not agree with this their belief they did not adopt, or at all events did not place in its true light. But in spite of these most unfavourable circumstances, we are acquainted with a few persons and facts which we have no hesitation in contemplating from the point of view which we have indicated.

We have already spoken of Gaal and the men who came with him to settle at Shechem.* Of greater importance to us than the more or less enigmatical account from which we know them, is the much older song of Deborah, on the subject of the victory of the Israelites in the war against Jabin, which we have just mentioned.† In this poem we are struck with the combination of the political with the religious element. Deborah denounces the tribes which had withdrawn from the war against Jabin, and praises to the skies the valiant men of Zebulun, Issachar, &c., who had responded to the call of Barak.‡ Ardent love for her nation inspires her and even justifies in her eyes the treacherous murder of Sisera, Jabin's captain, by Jael.§ While giving utterance to these opinions, she at the same time shows herself an upholder of the worship of Jahveh. In her mind, Jahveh and Israel are inseparably connected.‖ May "all enemies of Jahveh" —so she wishes¶—"perish like Sisera!" Whoever takes part in the conflict with Jabin "comes to the help of Jahveh."**

* Above, pp. 302 seq.
† Judges v.
‡ Verses 23, 14—18.
§ Verses 24—27.
‖ Verses 3, 5, 11.
¶ Verse 31.
** Verse 23.

The victory obtained is one of the "righteous acts of Jahveh."* When the distress had become so great, Jahveh, amid a signal display of his might, had gone forth—out of Seir, the land of Edom, his former and proper abode—into Canaan, where his people now dwelt, in order to fight for that people.† So speaks Deborah. Of other gods than Jahveh she makes no mention. What is there then to prevent us from seeing in her a follower of Moses? Is not her conception of Jahveh's relation to Israel irreconcilable with addiction to the religion of those "kings of Canaan," against whom, she is persuaded, the very stars of heaven are led into the battle by Jahveh?‡ Tradition may commit an anachronism—as we have already shown to be probable§—in calling Deborah "a prophetess," but in its estimate of her attitude towards the worship of Jahveh it is not mistaken.

Besides Barak, who allowed himself to be guided entirely by Deborah,‖ other judges also no doubt distinguished themselves as warm upholders of the worship of Jahveh. But the accounts relating to them are silent on this head, or are composed too much in the spirit of the later prophets to allow of reposing implicit confidence in them upon this point. This holds good, for instance, of the narratives relating to Gideon, whose struggle against Baal cannot be included among historical facts.¶ But towards the end of the period of the Judges we meet with phenomena which give us a right to assert that Deborah does not stand alone, but represents a tendency of thought which must have had its adherents during the whole of that period.

The judges whose actions or names are handed down to us in the book of Judges, were men of the people. They fulfil their task without the appearance of any co-operation on the part of priests of Jahveh. The book of Judges speaks but once of the ark of Jahveh;** in the same passage it mentions

* Verse 11. † Verses 4, 5. ‡ Verses 19, 20.

§ Above, p. 192. ‖ Judges iv. 6 seq.

¶ See above, p. 305, and Note IV. at the end of this Chapter.

** Judges xx. 27.

Phinehas, the son of Eleazar and grandson of Aaron, who officiates by the ark as priest.* It is yet to be determined how far this account is worthy of credit.† But allowing it to have weight as testimony, even then the fact remains, that the priests of Jahveh play a very insignificant part, or rather no part at all, in the times over which the book of Judges extends. But after that it was otherwise. The historian who relates to us the death of Eli, the priest at Shiloh, adds: "he had judged Israel forty years."‡ It is true that this statement stands quite alone; in what the "judging of Israel" consisted does not appear; we learn nothing more of Eli than some particulars of his old age which do not give us a very high opinion of the firmness of his character.§ But when we learn that the ark of Jahveh was kept at Shiloh, and was so highly honoured by the Israelites that they considered its presence in the camp indispensable for victory in the conflict with the Philistines;‖ when we read that Eli's sons, to whom the care of this sanctuary was entrusted, sacrificed their lives in its defence¶—then we do not hesitate to see in Eli's priestly dignity the explanation of the influence which he exercised in Israel. And this the less, because after his death his power devolves of itself, as it were, upon Samuel, who had been brought up and educated in the temple at Shiloh. His office as judge, interpreted in this way, bears witness to an awakened interest in the service of Jahveh and in his representatives. During the whole period of the Judges, Shiloh was visited upon festivals by worshippers of Jahveh;** towards its end the priest at Shiloh also acquired political power: can this be an accident? does it properly admit of any other explanation than the one just given? If the direction of the national interests then fell into the hands of the priest of Jahveh, was it not because the nation itself turned to Jahveh and sought support in him more than it had done before?

* Judges xx. 28. † Comp. above, p. 148, n. †. ‡ 1 Sam. iv. 18.
§ 1 Sam. ii. 12—iii. 21. ‖ 1 Sam. iv. 1 seq. ¶ 1 Sam. iv. 11, 17.
** See above, p. 296; comp. also Gen. xlix. 10.

But we can go further. It will be remembered that towards the end of the period under consideration, the disadvantages and difficulties connected with the want of unity were felt more deeply than before, and that the natural result of this was a desire for the introduction of monarchical government.* The attempts at political organization, however, were preceded by phenomena in the domain of religion to which we must now turn our attention, viz. the appearance of Nazaritism and the rise of prophecy. The grounds which justify us in connecting them both with Israel's political unity and with our present subject, will appear shortly.

The Nazaritic vow is regulated by law in the Pentateuch.† But the practice itself is much older than this law, especially the Nazariteship for life, of which we have the first example in Samuel just in the period of which we are treating:‡ Samson would precede him,§ if the incidents of his career could be received as ordinary history; as it is, the account of his Nazariteship proves nothing more than that the narrator, in selecting the garb in which he has clothed his story, remains true to the character of the time in which he places his hero.‖ He who dedicates himself to Jahveh is called a "Nazîr of Jahveh." He abstains from wine and other strong drinks, lets the hair of his head grow, and guards himself, as much as possible, against all pollution. Nevertheless, he does not withdraw from social and domestic life. He rather lives in the midst of the people as a living memorial of the duty of every one to devote himself to Jahveh and to serve him. We surely are not mistaken in asserting that the abstinence from wine must be regarded as the main thing in the vow of the Nazarite: the people who mock the Nazarite, according to Amos,¶ give him wine to drink. What can this abstinence be but a sign of attachment to the simplicity of the ancestral nomadic life, a protest against conformity with the Canaanites and participation in their religious

* Above, pp. 147—150. † Num. vi. 1—21. ‡ 1 Sam. i. 11, 28.
§ Judges xiii. 3 seq. ‖ See above, pp. 306 seq. ¶ Am. ii. 12.

sacrifices and festivals? So, at least, it is understood by Amos, when he places the Nazarites, whom Jahveh raises up "from among the young men of Israel," upon a level with the prophets.* Is it not then very remarkable that we find the Nazarites beginning to appear towards the end of the period of the Judges? Does not this prove that the religious tradition of the Mosaic time had not died out, and that the Israelites, instinctively perhaps, saw in its revival the means of raising themselves from the distress under which they were groaning?

We have to regard from the same point of view the rise of the associations of prophets of which we have already spoken.† The mental transport which was coupled with the service of Baal and Ashera, communicates itself to some of those who worship Jahveh, is kept up by their mutual intercourse and is preserved from extravagances by Samuel. This too is a most remarkable fact—an irrefragable proof that Jahvism, far from being extinct, possessed and displayed the power to appropriate that which seemed attractive and worthy of imitation in other forms of religion. How much soever—according to the interpretation which has the best claim to be adopted‡—it may have differed from Nazaritism in origin, prophecy stands next to it as an expression of the popular feeling and tendency at that time. The two together serve as a guarantee that the watchword "Jahveh the god of Israel" had not fallen into oblivion, but, on the contrary, was alive in the hearts of many in such a way that it completely filled them, and gave a definite tendency to all that they did or left undone. Not with all, it is true, but still with a few, such a conception of Jahvism left no room at all for the service of other gods.

We have already mentioned Samuel's name more than once: we must now direct attention expressly to him and his influence. The account given us of his reformation is characteristic. "He

* Am. ii. 11. † Above, pp. 194 seq. ‡ Comp. pp. 216 seq.

spake"—we read*—"unto all the house of Israel: 'If ye do return unto Jahveh with all your hearts, then put away the strange gods and the Astartes from among you, and turn your hearts unto Jahveh, and serve him only, that he may deliver you out of the hand of the Philistines;' and the children of Israel did put away the Baalim and the Astartes, and served Jahveh only." Samuel's action was certainly not so simple and at the same time so comprehensive as this; and it is inconceivable that he should have attained his purpose all at once and with every one. The same exaggeration prevails here as in the description of Samuel's victories over the Philistines,† which—as we have already observed‡—are just as much contradicted by the facts as the statement concerning the nature and the issue of his attempts at reformation. Both these accounts, too, emanate from one and the same author of a later age, who wrote in the spirit of Deuteronomy. All this, however, does not interfere with the fact that Samuel, in all probability, worked in the direction here indicated. The narratives relating to his functions as judge are too recent and too indefinite to allow of our building much upon them. But he still continued his labours under Saul's government, and the latter had partly him to thank for his elevation to royalty. In a narrative about the war against the Amalekites, Samuel comes forward with the demand that this people may be devoted as *cherem;* and when Saul does not completely obey this injunction, but spares king Agag, Samuel hews the latter to pieces "before the face of Jahveh at Gilgal:"§ this is a deed quite in the spirit of strict Jahvism.‖ We inferred above,¶ from the names of Saul's sons, that before his elevation to the throne he took part in the service of Baal. Did Samuel succeed in winning him over to the worship of Jahveh? Is this, perhaps, the real meaning of the—certainly historical—proverb: "Is Saul also among the prophets?" of which two different and not alto-

* 1 Sam. vii. 3, 4. † 1 Sam. vii. 13, 14. ‡ Pp. 151 seq.
§ 1 Sam xv. 1 seq., 33. ‖ Comp. p. 290 seq. ¶ P. 305.

gether satisfactory explanations are given us in 1 Samuel ?* Did it thus originally express the astonishment of those who discovered that a man who had hitherto shown himself indifferent to Jahvism, was now seized with prophetic enthusiasm? These conjectures are not improbable. But whatever may be the history of Saul's religious development, as king he governed in the spirit of the national and Jahvistic party. Thus it is related of him that he tried to root out the soothsayers and ventriloquists, whom strict Jahvism could not tolerate.† He also, "in his zeal for the children of Israel and Judah," adopted very severe measures against the Canaanitish inhabitants of Gibeon: he sought to slay them, and although some of them survived, yet the blow which he dealt to them was so heavy, that in the reign of David the belief could find credit that a famine which afflicted the land for three consecutive years was to be regarded as a punishment for the wrong done to them.‡ Here, therefore, it is again evident how intimately politics and religion were connected: the zeal for Jahveh and his worship was national, and therefore manifested itself first of all and principally in the persecution of the Canaanites. We have no right consequently to attribute an exceptional religious development to the men who were actuated by this zeal. Their line of action may have sprung from this source, but equally well from narrow-mindedness; even worse motives may have guided them in their zeal against the Canaanites. In any case, their Jahvism was of a type very inferior to that of later times. Spiritual or universalistic notions we cannot ascribe to them. Still they rendered a most important, nay an inestimable, service to their nation, in regard to its future religious development. They kept alive in Israel the consciousness of its peculiarity in regard to religion as well as in other respects. The danger that Israel's Jahvism would utterly disappear in the whirlpool of the Canaanitish

* 1 Sam. x. 10—12, xix. 22—24.

† 1 Sam. xxviii. 3 b.

‡ 2 Sam. xxi. 1—14.

idolatries was averted by them. They did not materially promote the growth of the plant, it is true, but they preserved its germ from death.

III. *The age of David and Solomon.*

Saul's reign was of short duration, and was disturbed not only by constant wars, but also by the quarrel with Samuel and the fear of David. His death led to a disruption: the large majority of the tribes remained faithful to Saul's son, Ishbosheth, while David was acknowledged as king in Judah. It was not until after Ishbosheth's death that the whole of Israel was again united under one sceptre. So it remained during the reigns of David and Solomon, for a period of about seventy years.

It is generally admitted that this period is of the highest importance in the history of the religion of Israel. But to the questions, how? and why? very different answers are given. Those who hold these seventy years to be the time when Jahvism existed in its fullest vigour, adhere most faithfully to the Israelitish tradition. It is well known that the later prophets, in the eighth and following centuries before our era, were of this opinion; the restoration of David's kingdom is the ideal to which their aspirations were directed, and they cannot imagine a greater blessing for Israel than the rule of a second David;* in accordance with their entire manner of thinking,† they did not doubt for a moment that the prosperity then enjoyed was the reward of Israel's fidelity to Jahveh. This prophetic expectation, however, together with its suppositions, is but indirect evidence as to the age of David and Solomon. Yet direct proofs of its high religious development seem not to be wanting. In the book of Psalms we find nearly 100 poems which are ascribed by their titles to David, or to contemporaries

* Above, p. 66. † Above, pp. 60 sq.

of David:* they bear witness as much to inward piety as to pure ideas of Jahveh, besides whom no other gods are recognized. A large proportion of the Proverbs, again, according to their titles,† are from Solomon's hand: they start from a pure monotheism, and preach a corresponding system of morals. Other literary productions are also referred to the same time: the Song of Solomon and Ecclesiastes, in accordance with their titles; the book of Job, on account of its relationship to the Proverbs. If, now, we consult the historical books relating to David and Solomon, we find in them much that fully harmonizes with the impression made upon us by this literature. Let the reader call to memory the narratives in 2 Samuel about David's relation to Jahveh,‡ and the specimens of his poetry that are given there;§ the accounts of Solomon's piety and wisdom;‖ of the building, and, above all, of the dedication of the temple;¶ and, finally, the statements of the Chronicler as to David's measures concerning public worship, and especially the temple music.** If we take all this into consideration, it does not surprise us that many still estimate the reigns of David and Solomon so highly, and either disregard the phenomena which make a less favourable impression, or look upon them as omens of a decline which was not to commence until afterwards.

It would not be uninteresting to trace out how this traditional view lost its supports one by one, until at last the conviction forced itself upon many that it must be given up altogether. The first attack was directed against the narratives of the Chronicler. It is quite certain now that—about the year 300 B.C. or still later—he re-wrote the history of Israel before the exile in a sacerdotal spirit, and, in so doing, violated the historical truth

* 73 to David, 2 to Solomon, 12 to Asaph, 10 to the Korahites, and 1 each to Heman and Ethan. Comp. my *Hk. O.* III. 232 seq.

† Prov. i. 1, x. 1, xxv. 1.

‡ 2 Sam. vi., and especially vii.

§ 2 Sam. xxii. and xxiii. 1—7.

‖ 1 Kings iii. 3—15, iv. 29, ix. 1—9, &c.

¶ 1 Kings v. 2 seq., viii.

** 1 Chron. xxii.—xxvi., xxviii. xxix.

throughout. He leaves out all that could place David and Solomon in an unfavourable light, and, fully persuaded of their piety, describes this according to the ideas, not of their days, but of his own time. In the books of Samuel and Kings, also, two different interpretations of the religious and moral character of David and Solomon were now soon discovered; critics became convinced that these were irreconcilable the one with the other, and thus found themselves constrained to choose between them; the opinion gradually gained ground, that even the authors of these books had begun to idealize David and Solomon, and that the least elevated and the least pure conception of their religion approaches the nearest to the truth. In the meantime it had already appeared that many of the titles of the Psalms were certainly inaccurate, and grave suspicions were alleged against those of the Solomonic writings. It was no longer possible to disguise the fact that not a single psalm or proverb was guaranteed by these headings to be a production of the age of David and Solomon. At last critics had the courage to say that all those titles, without distinction, are contradicted by the oldest portions of the historical books. It is only—and this is the decisive test—it is only when the literature of the age of David and Solomon has been relegated to later times, that the accounts relating to these two kings and their contemporaries become altogether comprehensible: it then becomes unnecessary to do violence to them; in so far as they may be regarded as trustworthy, they can be admitted in all their extent. It is true that a great portion of tradition is thus set aside. But if it be successfully shown how this tradition was formed, nay, how it must necessarily and naturally have been formed, then justice is done to it, in spite of this rejection. Do not the remarks which we have just made upon the origin of the prophetical conception of David's time, contain a satisfactory explanation of the gradually more idealized and less historical views which became current among the Israelites with regard to this period?

As a result of such an application of historical criticism, the age of David and Solomon assumes quite a new character. It continues to occupy an important position in the history of Israel, but rather as a period of preparation than as the time when pure Jahvism most flourished. Both these kings contributed much directly, but still more indirectly, to the development of the Israelitish religion. Yet their own standpoint was that, or at all events nearly that, of the period of the Judges, which immediately preceded them. What their way of thinking was and what manner of influence they exercised we will now show. The nature of our sources prevents us from sketching the popular convictions separately; they must be made out approximately from what we are told of the kings; usually, the description of the prince will even have to do duty at the same time as an indication of the religious standpoint of the people. But it will become self-evident that to this no objection can arise.

With obvious approbation, the author of 2 Samuel relates one of the first acts of David's reign, the removal of the ark of Jahveh to Jerusalem.* It will be remembered that the Philistines had captured that sanctuary, but had been forced to send it back.† Since that time the ark had stood at Kirjath-jearim, in the house of Abinadab, whose son Eleazar had charge of it.‡ After David had captured the city of Jebus and had established himself there,§ he thought that the time had arrived for transferring the ark to his capital, called thenceforward Jerusalem. Accompanied by a great multitude, he goes to Kirjath-jearim; the ark is placed upon a new cart, drawn by two oxen, and with loud acclamations the procession starts for Jerusalem. But in the neighbourhood of Nachon's threshing-floor—the position of which is unknown—the oxen stumble; Uzzah, one of the drivers of the waggon, tries to prevent it from falling, but pays for his zeal

* 2 Sam. vi.

† 1 Sam. iv.—vi.

‡ 1 Sam. vii. 1, 2. In reference to 1 Sam. xiv. 18, see above, p. 97.

§ 2 Sam. v. 6—9.

with his life. David and the people recognize in his death the hand of Jahveh, who punishes in this way the offence of touching the ark; the fear of Jahveh seizes them; the plan of proceeding to the capital is given up, and the ark is deposited in the house of Obed-Edom the Gittite. There it remains for three months. Obed-Edom and his household receive no hurt; on the contrary, everything goes prosperously with them. In this David sees an indication that he can carry out his original plan without danger. With still greater solemnity than before and with more numerous sacrifices, the ark is transferred to Jerusalem; girded with a linen ephod, David dances before the face of Jahveh; the sound of the trumpets alternates with the shouting of the multitude. When the ark had at length been placed in a tent pitched for it in "the city of David"—as the higher part of Jerusalem was afterwards called—fresh sacrifices were offered. When the festival was over, the people returned home, after being blessed by David in the name of Jahveh, and with liberal presents. The historian adds, that David's wife Michal, the daughter of Saul, reproached him for having taken part in the solemnity, but was very severely reproved by him for doing so.

The narrative of the Chronicler, which corresponds with this account,* is well fitted—not to make us better acquainted with the triumphal progress of the ark, but—to teach us in what respects that which then took place seemed offensive to the Jews of later days. The author of 2 Samuel makes no mention of Levites as bearers of the ark; he does not disapprove of the removal of the ark on a cart; he does not speak of Levitical musicians and singers at all. His narrative is modified or completed on all these points by the Chronicler,† not because he had consulted other, more exact accounts, but because he considered it certain that David would not have acted in opposition to the stipulations of the Law. Conversely, we find in these particulars a fresh proof that the Law did not yet exist at that time, and

* 1 Chr. xiii. xv. xvi. † Comp. 1 Chr. xiii. 2, xv. 2—24, 26, 27, xvi. 4—43.

that in David's days no one thought of either the descendants of Aaron or the Levites being the only persons competent to discharge the functions of priests.

The idea of removing the ark of Jahveh to the chief city of the kingdom as soon as possible, undoubtedly bears witness to David's interest in the worship of Jahveh. As such it is in complete accord with his antecedents and with the subsequent acts of his reign. From the very beginning, David is the favourite of the prophets of Jahveh. The account of his having been anointed by Samuel is unhistorical.* But it is very credible that in his flight before Saul he found an asylum in the school of the prophets at Ramah† and was helped onward by Ahimelech, the priest at Nob.‡ All who were discontented with Saul, and among them Samuel and all his party, naturally fixed their eyes upon the hero whom Saul was persecuting, and gave him their heartfelt sympathy. We read, therefore, that the prophet Gad accompanied him in his wanderings through the desert of Judah,§ and that Abiathar, the son of Ahimelech—the last-mentioned of whom was put to death with the rest of the priests at Nob by command of Saul‖—sought refuge with David and announced to him the oracles of Jahveh.¶ Is it a wonder that David, after he has been acknowledged as king by all the tribes, hastens to assign a place in his capital to the ark of Jahveh and thus also to the priesthood, who had formerly taken care of it? The priests Zadok the son of Ahitub, and Abiathar the son of Ahimelech, are reckoned among his highest officers.** They do not hesitate, therefore, to accompany him with the ark in his flight before Absalom; it is only at David's express command that they stay behind in Jerusalem, where they render him

* 1 Sam. xvi. 1—13. Comp. my criticism in the periodical *Nieuw en Oud*, New Series, vi. 55 seq.

† 1 Sam. xix. 18 seq. ‡ 1 Sam. xxi. 2 seq. § 1 Sam. xxii. 5.

‖ 1 Sam. xxii. 6 seq. ¶ 1 Sam. xxiii. 6 seq., xxx. 7 seq.

** 2 Sam. viii. 17 (where "Ahimelech the son of Abiathar" is a clerical error, to be corrected by the transposition of the two names).

important services.* The prophets Nathan and Gad, "David's seer," have free access to him and are respected and obeyed by him, even when they proclaim hard truths in Jahveh's name.† To the last days of his life David receives proofs of Nathan's fidelity.‡ No doubt this friendly relation to the prophets was dictated by policy. But it could not well have lasted unimpaired to the very end, if David had not been an upright and devoted servant of Jahveh.

But, on the other hand, the same removal of the ark to Jerusalem, with the particulars which are told about it, is conclusive proof that we may not form too high an opinion of the purity of the religious ideas of David and his contemporaries. Nothing is clearer than that David believes that with the ark he is bringing Jahveh to his capital. By this belief alone can his zeal and the enthusiasm of the festival be explained; the episodes of the death of Uzzah, and of the stay of the ark in Obed-Edom's house, also point to this conclusion. When mount Zion occurs in later Israelitish literature as Jahveh's dwelling-place,§ this is to be taken literally, at all events in the intention of him who placed Jahveh's ark upon that hill. If, therefore, a sensuous, and as yet but little developed conception of Jahveh's nature is visible here, it cannot be denied that other features of tradition are completely in harmony with it. We refer, among other things, to the teraphim in David's house;‖ to the idea put into his mouth, certainly not incorrectly, by one of his biographers, that the service of Jahveh is confined to Canaan, and that emigration to foreign countries must result in the worship of other gods;¶ to his subjection to the priestly oracle, which at the least affords evidence against the independence of his religious belief;** to his compliance with the demand of the

* 2 Sam. xv. 24—29, 36, xvii. 15 seq.
† 2 Sam. xii. 1 seq., xxiv. 11 seq.
‡ 1 Kings i. 22 seq.
§ Above, p. 40.
‖ 1 Sam. xix. 13 seq. Comp. above, pp. 246 seq.
¶ 1 Sam. xxvi. 19.
** 1 Sam. xxiii. 6 seq., xxx. 7 seq.

Gibeonites that Saul's blood-guiltiness should be expiated by hanging up seven of his descendants "before the face of Jahveh," in order that the famine which afflicts all Israel, in punishment of Saul's misdeed, may thus be averted;* and, finally, to his conviction that the plague which distresses Israel is a penalty for the numbering of the people, which he had ordered in opposition to the popular wish.† The deity who is served in this manner, and concerning whom such ideas as these are in circulation, is not yet by any means the Jahveh of the prophets, who, if he be not the only god, is at all events infinitely exalted above all other gods. It is true, the Jahveh whom David honours is also a holy and a righteous god, who utters moral demands by the mouth of his envoys, and knows how to enforce them by severe punishments. Let the reader think of the emphatic way in which Nathan enforces the commandment against adultery and murder in its full extent against the royal sinner also.‡ Yet the moral ideas on which David and his contemporaries act, and which they ascribe to Jahveh also, are still very undeveloped and rude. In a narrative which in other respects places David in a very favourable light, he says to Saul: "If Jahveh hath stirred thee up against me, let him smell a meat-offering; but if men have done it, cursed be they before Jahveh."§ So can David indeed have thought and spoken, to judge from his conduct in the case of the Gibeonites and towards Saul's descendants, to which we have just referred.‖ Vindictiveness and cruelty, even against the unprotected, are not condemned by his moral consciousness, are at all events practised without hesitation upon foreign foes,¶ or prescribed in his dying hour to Solomon.** Treachery and craft are thought permissible.†† We must not overlook all this, if we would form

* Sam. xxi. 1—14.
† 2 Sam. xxiv.
‡ 2 Sam. xii. 1 seq.
§ 1 Sam. xxvi. 19.
‖ 2 Sam. xxi. 1—14. Comp. *Nieuw en Oud*, New Series, I. 28 seq.
¶ 2 Sam. viii. 2, 4, xii. 31; 1 Kings xi. 15, 16.
** 1 Kings ii. 5, 6, 8, 9.
†† 1 Sam. xxi. 3 seq., 11 seq., xxvii., xxviii. 1, 2, xxix.

an accurate notion of David's religion. If the moral ideal be low, the conception of the character of the deity cannot but be defective also: man makes his god in his own image and after his own likeness. David's ideas of Jahveh are in harmony with the spirit of his still half barbarous age, and with his own moral standpoint. There is no discordance between his creed and the deeds which he does, until we substitute the poet of the Psalms for the David of history, or endeavour to combine them both in one person. If we abandon this hopeless attempt, we obtain a portrait which, in spite of the stains that deface it, must be gazed at with admiration.*

We shall return to this when we examine David's indirect influence upon the development of Israel's religion. Very few words will suffice for that which he effected directly, by the removal of the ark. It was equal to an official recognition of Jahvism as the religion of the nation, and must so far have advanced the national worship in the estimation of the people. But, regarded from this point of view, it was nothing more than the first step towards the building of the temple, which placed Jahveh's relation to Israel in a much clearer and more striking light. Indeed, it is surprising that David confined himself to the transfer of the ark, and did not at once erect a house for it. The Israelites themselves tried to solve this riddle at an early period. The Chronicler even gives it his special attention. According to him, David, on the one hand, was deemed by Jahveh unfit and unworthy to build the temple, because he "was a man of war, and had shed much blood,"† and, on the other hand, did so much in preparing for the building and in regulating the public worship, that there was nothing left for Solomon but the execution of a design worked out down to the smallest details.‡ In both points the Chronicler starts from older accounts, which, however, he works up and exaggerates

* Comp. also my *Hk. O.* III. 265 seq.

† 1 Chr. xxii. 8, xxviii. 3.

‡ 1 Chr. xxii.—xxvi. xxviii. xxix.

after his own manner. The earlier historians had already been able to relate that David had dedicated a portion of the spoil which he had won, to Jahveh;* they do not expressly add that it was his intention that the cost of the erection of the temple should be defrayed out of this treasure, but this was a very obvious supposition. There is a great difference, however, between these measures and those which the Chronicler makes David take. The desire to exalt David, and to make him the actual founder of the temple, is not to be mistaken in his writings. For these and a number of other reasons,† we cannot accept them as trustworthy. Much less can we believe that David himself would have seen in the blood which he had shed a hindrance to the erection of a temple. Here, again, the Chronicler builds upon an older account,‡ which, however, contains nothing more than that David's perpetual wars left him no time for beginning and accomplishing so great a work. Even the account last referred to—and much more the priestly representation of the matter in the Chronicles—is at variance with the remarkable narrative in 2 Sam. vii., which is at the same time the most ancient testimony that we possess on the subject. According to this narrative, David conceived the plan of building a temple, and was encouraged in it by the prophet Nathan, whom he consulted. But the next day the prophet came to the king with the information that, in consequence of a revelation from Jahveh, he now judged differently: "Jahveh by no means desired to dwell in a house of cedar; since the exodus from Egypt, he—*i.e.* the ark—had wandered about in a tent, without ever expressing a wish that a temple might be built for him; David, whom from a shepherd-boy he had made a king, must abandon that plan; his son, who would ascend the throne after him, might carry it out."§ It will be easily perceived that this oracle contains propositions that are mutually antagonistic.

* 2 Sam. viii. 10—12; 1 Kings vii. 51.

† Comp. my *Hk. O.* I. 324 seq.

‡ 1 Kings v. 3, 4.

§ 2 Sam. vii. 1—17.

The commencement tends to condemn the erection of a temple, no matter who should undertake it; at the conclusion, however, it is regarded as a privilege of Solomon that he may execute his father's design. This antagonism is not unnatural. The author of this narrative does not dare to express unqualified disapproval of the temple at Jerusalem, which, at the period when he wrote, had already for a long time been regarded as the dwelling of Jahveh; but in his heart he has more sympathy with the simplicity of his forefathers, for the ark wandering "in tent and tabernacle;" in a word, for the nomadic life, which seems to afford greater guarantees, from a religious point of view also, than the perilous luxury introduced by agriculture, trade, and intercourse.* Is it not very natural to suppose that the same sympathy existed in David's mind, or, at least, in the minds of his counsellors, the prophets, and that it was chiefly for this reason that the ark of Jahveh "dwelt under a curtain,"† so long as David reigned? This conjecture is incapable of strict proof, but it is certainly probable.

This affords us at the same time the point of view from which we have to regard the building of the temple by Solomon. But it will certainly not be superfluous if we first pause for a moment to take note of his person and his character. Unless we be mistaken, it must have cost the Israelitish historians some trouble to arrive at a determinate judgment regarding him. The accounts which reached them seemed to lead to quite opposite conclusions. On the one hand, it was certain that he had built the temple, had upon the whole been highly prosperous in his administration, had been pre-eminent in riches and wisdom, and had even made himself famous in foreign

* If this antithesis existed in the author's mind, he had no need to trouble himself with the fact that the ark had stood in a temple at Shiloh (above, p. 296). From the standpoint adopted by him, he might place the abode of the ark in that—no doubt simple—building upon a par with its abode in tents. It is also possible, however, that he knew nothing about the temple at Shiloh, or did not think of it.

† 2 Sam. vii. 2.

lands. All this seemed to justify a very favourable opinion of his person and his attitude towards Jahveh: must not this wisdom and these treasures be regarded as gifts from Israel's god? Did not the building of a temple bear witness to a sincere interest in the worship of Jahveh? But, on the other hand, it was a part of the current tradition that Solomon had erected sanctuaries in the vicinity of Jerusalem for Astarte, the goddess of the Zidonians, for Chemosh, the god of Moab, and for Milcom, the god of the Ammonites.* These chapels existed down to the days of Josiah,† and therefore could not be denied. The Chronicler, who lived long after the exile, was the first who could think of passing them over in silence. The author of the ook of Kings was obliged to mention them. But how was he to bring this encouragement of idolatry into harmony with the rest of the data concerning Solomon? He did this in a very peculiar way. When Solomon had grown old—he relates‡—his strange wives caused him to apostatize from Jahveh, and seduced him into gratifying their wishes by serving other gods, and erecting "high places" for their worship. Thus did Solomon that which was evil in the eyes of Jahveh. The punishment was not long in coming. The ravages of Hadad, the son of the last Edomitish king, and of Rezon, king of Syria, and, above all, the revolt of Jeroboam, which, after Solomon's death, resulted in the disruption of his kingdom, must, according to the historian,§ be regarded as so many signs of Jahveh's anger at Solomon's apostasy. In this manner the undeniable fact is acknowledged, and, at the same time, stripped of its significance. The tolerance of idolatry becomes a weakness of Solomon in his old age, a temporary departure from the course which he had pursued in the vigour of his life, a sin which was immediately followed by its just penalty, and was therefore the more pardonable in the eyes of posterity. But little reflection, however, is

* 1 Kings xi. 5, 7, 33.
† 2 Kings xxiii. 13.
‡ 1 Kings xi. 1 seq.
§ 1 Kings xi. 14—40.

necessary in order to perceive that this attempt to excuse Solomon and save his good name has not succeeded. How arbitrary it is to assume so intimate a connection between Solomon's idolatry and the opposition which he experienced in Edom, in Syria, and in his own kingdom, the historian himself teaches us, when he relates that Hadad occasioned disquiet *immediately after David's death*;* when he states that Rezon was Israel's enemy *all the days of Solomon*;† and when he exposes elsewhere the real reasons of the discontent of the ten tribes.‡ Solomon's apostasy from Jahveh cannot have been punished before he had been guilty of it; it was not of this, but of his extortions, that the Ephraimites complained. Nor can we agree with the historian that Solomon's idolatry was a temporary unsettlement. If it really arose from so transient and fortuitous a cause, how is it then to be explained that the "high places" built by him remained undisturbed for centuries? If he were indeed so faithful a servant of Jahveh, how could he, besides the daughter of Pharaoh, receive into his harem those Moabitish, Ammonitish, Edomitish, Zidonian, and Hittitish women?§ Much rather is it evident from these very facts that Solomon—with most of his contemporaries and the generations immediately succeeding them—was altogether strange to that exclusiveness according to which the historian judges his conduct. He may have worshipped Jahveh—we do not for a moment think of doubting this—but he cannot have recognized him as the only true god; the difference between the god of Israel and the gods of the neighbouring tribes cannot even have been very great in his mind. We should have to arrive at this conclusion, if he had merely tolerated those other gods; but since he himself erected sanctuaries in their honour, the correctness of this apprehension of his religious standpoint cannot well be doubted.

* 1 Kings xi. 21, 22. † 1 Kings xi. 25.

‡ 1 Kings xii., v. 13—16, xi. 27, 28; comp. *Nieuw en Oud*, New Series, I. 247 seq.

§ 1 Kings xi. 1.

And this the less, because it is confirmed from other quarters. The wisdom of Solomon is sketched by the historian in such a manner, that the well-known saying, "the fear of Jahveh is the beginning of knowledge,"* seems to be fully applicable to it. Who does not remember the beautiful narrative of Solomon's dream at Gibeon?† But this narrative will lose nothing of its value, should it be found that the author expresses in it rather his own pious conception than the thoughts of Solomon. And this is undoubtedly the case. The religious character which is here attributed to it, was just what the wisdom of the great king lacked. This wisdom occasioned him to be compared to the Egyptians and to "those of the east;"‡ it established his fame among "all heathens round about;"§ it attracted the queen of Sheba to his court, and gained for him her admiration, after she had ventured upon a trial of strength with him.‖ The accounts upon which we depend here are certainly exaggerated. Yet, if they preserve but some remembrance of the reality, Solomon's wisdom cannot have been specifically Jahvistic. He may justly be called the first of the wise men of Israel. But then let it be remembered that the Israelites ascribed wisdom (*chokmah*) to every one who had the gifts of observation and discernment, and could consequently give sensible advice. In later times this chokmah entered into the service, so to speak, of Jahvism, and thus its admonitions and lessons assumed a definitely religious character. This is true, for instance, of the Proverbs, which are preserved to us in the Old Testament. Originally, however, it moved more upon neutral ground. Both the pious wise men and the "scoffers" could afterwards appeal to Solomon as their predecessor with equal right. His enigmas, proverbs and songs, lay outside of religion, and the more applause they gained in foreign lands, the less value can they possess as evidence of the purity or depth of his Jahvism. How very dif-

* Prov. i. 7 a. † 1 Kings iii. 4—15. ‡ 1 Kings iv. 30.
§ 1 Kings iv. 31. ‖ 1 Kings x. 1—10.

ferently would Solomon have made himself known, in his capacity of a teacher of wisdom, if he had entertained the ideas to which the author of the 1 Kings makes him give utterance at the dedication of the temple!*

We have already seen enough to enable us to estimate Solomon's religious character, at all events provisionally, with greater accuracy. It is easy to perceive that the building of the temple itself can lead us to no other opinion of him. We must regard this measure first of all as a political act. By the erection of a temple—which for those days and for the Israel of that time was magnificent—and by the establishment of a regular public worship, the lustre of Solomon's reign and the splendour of his capital were necessarily enhanced. It was not his intention, it is true, that sacrifices should be offered to Jahveh in that temple alone, but he could foresee and, in the interest of the unity of his kingdom, desire, that on festive occasions pilgrims from all parts of the land would assemble at Jerusalem and there pay homage to Jahveh, as in his own house. According to a very trustworthy account,† it was he who laid the foundation of the *three* high festivals which had already become permanent institutions in the seventh century B.C. Such assemblies were the natural result of the erection of a temple in the capital: Solomon must also have had this in view when he undertook that great work. The way in which he planned and accomplished it, strengthens us in the conviction that the political reasons had most weight with him, or that, at all events, attachment to Jahvism, in contradistinction to the service of other gods, was not his only motive. It was Phœnician artists to whom not only the execution but also the projection of the plan was entrusted. As far as the execution is concerned, this is candidly admitted by the Israelitish historians,‡ and is therefore univer-

* 1 Kings viii. 12—61.

† 1 Kings ix. 25, which the Chronicler, not without reason, has entirely altered and re-cast, 2 Chr. viii. 12—16.

‡ 1 Kings vii. 13 seq.

sally allowed. But it is usually supposed that the foreign workmen worked after an Israelitish model. The Chronicler* even attributes to this model a directly divine origin, and relates that it had already been imparted to David. But even those who—with the most perfect right—put no faith in this account, refer us to the Mosaic tabernacle as the example which Solomon followed. There is, in fact, some resemblance between his temple and the description of that tabernacle in the book of Exodus.† But this must be accounted for by the fact that the author of this description, who lived after the exile, was acquainted, not with the temple of Solomon, but with that of Zerubbabel, which, though smaller, was alike in form, and that he drew the Mosaic sanctuary after the same model. According to the older accounts—the only ones yet known to the author of the books of Kings—the ark stood in the time of Moses in a very small and simple tent,‡ such as was also pitched by David upon mount Zion.§ Of course, no one dreamt of imitating this tent in building the temple. And the temple at Shiloh‖ also was certainly too simple and too little adorned to serve as a model. The mere fact, therefore, that Solomon's temple was the first of its kind in Israel, renders the supposition of foreign influence very probable. But the ornaments introduced into that temple also plead positively in its favour. We have already shown it to be probable¶ that the cherubim, which occur so repeatedly in the description of the sanctuary,** were borrowed from the Phœnicians. But a similar origin must be attributed to the gourds, lilies, palm-trees and open flowers,†† to the pomegranates‡‡ and to the two pillars

* 1 Chr. xxviii. 11 seq., 19. Comp. my *Hk. O.* I. 326.

† Exod. xxv. seq.

‡ Exod. xxxiii. 7—12; Num. x. 33, xi. 16, 26, xii. 4; Deut. xxxi. 14, 15.

§ 2 Sam. vi. 17, vii. 2; 1 Kings viii. 4. ‖ See above, p. 296, note ‡.

¶ P. 239 seq., comp. p. 258 seq.

** 1 Kings vi. 23—28, 29, 32, 35, vii. 36.

†† 1 Kings vi. 18, 29, 32, 35, vii. 19, 22.

‡‡ 1 Kings vii. 18, 20, 42.

of brass which were placed in the porch of the temple.* All these things were found in the Phœnician temples also, and, as was to be expected, not as useless ornaments, but as symbols. They belong for the most part to the worship of the sun-deities and point to the life awakened by them in nature. Now we should most decidedly be going too far, if we inferred from this that Solomon and his builders made no distinction between Jahveh, in whose honour the temple was erected, and the gods whose symbols they adopted. Nor does it appear that Solomon himself worshipped any other god besides Jahveh in the temple or conceded any place there to the image of one of those strange gods. But we may gather from this ornamentation of the temple at Jerusalem, that its founder did not recognize any distinction in essence between Jahveh and the other, particularly the Phœnician, gods: had he done so, it would surely have been his endeavour to render apparent the contrast between Jahveh and the natural gods, by the very arrangement of his sanctuary, and especially by the absence of all the above-mentioned ornaments. As it was, he gave the multitude, which judges by appearances, occasion to place Jahveh upon a par with the rest of the gods, and to look upon him as a member, as it were, of the same family. The kings who in later times admitted the symbols of Ashera and Baal into the temple,† could not appeal to Solomon's example, but they were by no means untrue to the spirit in which he undertook and carried out the great work.

The opposition which the plan of building a temple encountered from many quarters in David's time, astonishes us now still less than before. It was not only attachment to what was old which was expressed in it, but also the feeling that there was something peculiar in Jahveh and that his service ought to be distinguished from that of the other gods. Had it been

* 1 Kings vii. 15—22. The names of these pillars, Jachin ("he confirms") and Boaz ("in him is power") are very variously explained, and lead to no definite conclusions.

† 2 Kings xxi. 4, 5, 7, xxiii. 4, 6, 7, 11, 12.

allowed freely to work out its natural results, so to speak, the temple at Jerusalem would gradually have consigned to oblivion all that was characteristic in the worship of Jahveh. But now that the prophets of Jahveh provided for the conservation and support of the Jahvistic religion, this magnificent central sanctuary necessarily exercised a much more favourable influence. Hereafter we shall find occasion more than once to make this apparent. In order not to anticipate the course of historical development, we will confine ourselves here to a single general observation.

To every temple there belongs a priesthood. To form a correct idea of what Solomon's temple effected for the development of Jahvism, by means of its priests, we must begin by putting entirely aside the regulations concerning the priests and Levites attributed to Moses. Upon comparing these together, it soon becomes evident that they are not the product of one time, much less of one hand. The Book of the Covenant* preserves absolute silence as to the priests and their functions. The Deuteronomic law—dating from the latter half of the seventh century B.C.—represents the Levites as being the sole persons competent to officiate as priests, but makes no manner of distinction between those who belong to this tribe: they are not all priests, but they can all become priests.† Not so the laws recorded in Exodus, ch. xxv. seq., and in the two following books. They confine the priesthood to Aaron and his descendants, and make all the rest of the Levites subordinate to them. The line of demarcation between priests (sons of Aaron) and Levites is even drawn so sharply here, that the Levite who dared to sacrifice is threatened with death.‡ The Chronicler occupies the standpoint of the law last mentioned. In conformity with it, he speaks, even in reference to the period of David and Solomon, of Levites who are not priests, but perform

* Exod. xxi.—xxiii.

† This subject is treated more fully in Chapter VI.

‡ Num. xviii. 3, 7.

other, very important, although inferior, duties in and about the sanctuary. Their total number he calculates at 38,000, of whom 24,000 did service in the sanctuary itself, and 4000 as door-keepers and 4000 as singers, while the remaining 6000 were officers and judges.* Now critical examination has completely demonstrated the untruth of these returns and of the entire conception with which they are connected. However much uncertainty may still remain with regard to the fortunes of the Levites, so much is certain, that the Chronicler has here transferred the organization with which he was acquainted from personal observation, exaggerated and idealized, to David's time. During the reigns of this king and his immediate successors the state of affairs was rather as follows:

The competence of every Israelite to offer sacrifice was not doubted; it was the kings† and the heads of the tribes and families especially who made use of this privilege;

Sacrifices were also offered in other places besides the temple at Jerusalem: before Hezekiah's time no one seems even to have thought of restricting this liberty and forbidding the worship of Jahveh on the so-called "high places;"‡

Priests were chosen *in preference* from the tribe of Levi, to which Moses and Aaron had belonged; it was only by degrees that the Levites managed to introduce the conviction that they alone were competent for the priestly functions;§

All Levites had an equal claim to the priesthood, but many of them did not avail themselves of it and gained their living by other means;‖

The higher and lower services and offices in the temple at

* 1 Chr. xxiii. 3—5.

† 1 Sam. xiii. 9; 2 Sam. vi. 17, 18, xxiv. 18 seq.; 1 Kings viii., ix. 25. Concerning 2 Chr. xxvi. 16—21, comp. *Hk. O.* I. 119, n. 15.

‡ See the passages in *Hk. O.* I. 115 sq., and above, p. 82.

§ According to 1 Kings xii. 31, the conviction that only the Levites could be priests, cannot have been general in the time of Jeroboam I.: had it been so, the king would surely have been obliged to respect it.

‖ Comp. Deut. xviii. 6—8.

Jerusalem, although accessible to all Levites, remained, as might have been expected, hereditary in the families which had once discharged them; and thus in the natural course of things arose the distinction between higher and lower priests, which contained the germ of the subsequent contrast between priests and Levites, but did not call it into being prior to the exile.*

In accordance with this, we must imagine that immediately after the completion of the sanctuary at Jerusalem, a class of temple functionaries began to be formed from among the Levites, which soon eclipsed in power and consideration the priests who officiated in the "high places" beyond the capital of the kingdom. In proportion as the lustre of Solomon's temple became greater and the number of those who went up thither to keep the feasts of Jahveh and to dedicate the first-fruits increased, the priesthood in Jerusalem became more distinguished and more coveted; efforts on the part of the priests of the high places to obtain posts in the temple cannot well have been wanting; the army of priests at Jerusalem thus became by degrees more numerous and powerful. As a matter of course, its influence on Jahvism depended upon the intrinsic worth of its members, which was no doubt of very various degrees and was affected by the circumstances of the times and by the spirit which prevailed at the royal court and in the higher circles. History teaches us, on the one hand, that the first impulse to the purification and ennobling of Jahvism was given, not by the priests, but by the prophets; but, on the other hand, that *many* of the former placed themselves under the guidance of the prophets, gave powerful support to their efforts, or themselves assumed the prophet's mantle.† We had no grounds for expecting anything else. The priest naturally devotes his attention in preference, if not exclusively, to the

* See, *e.g.*, 2 Kings xxiii. 4, xxv. 18; 2 Kings xii. 10, xxii. 4, xxiii. 4, xxv. 18. We shall revert to this point further on.

† Jeremiah, Ezekiel, probably Joel, and perhaps other prophets, also were of priestly descent.

service and ritual of the temple, and usually identifies the interests of the religion with those of the sanctuary. The regulations—continually becoming more and more minute—of the sacred ceremonies, therefore, certainly formed the principal occupation of the priests of Jerusalem. But, at the same time, it is in this that their unmistakable merit lies; for how true soever it may be that the peculiar excellence of Jahvism is independent of ceremonies, it is no less certain that the latter were absolutely necessary to make it a national and popular religion and thus to ensure its permanence. In the absence of historical information, of course, we cannot point out when and how the priests at Jerusalem performed the subordinate portions of this their task. Their regulations were not written down, but were orally transmitted: an Israelite who had any doubts as to "clean and unclean," or "holy and profane," or concerning his duties to Jahveh's sanctuary, consulted the priests, who then gave him "instruction" (*thorah*, in the ordinary translation "law").* These "instructions" and "laws" were not committed to writing till long afterwards: very incompletely in the seventh century before our era (the law of Deuteronomy),† more fully in and after the Babylonish exile (Ezekiel and the legislation of the priests). When we shall have advanced so far in our narrative, we will not omit to avail ourselves of the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the results of the priests' labours.

We have still to show the indirect influence which David and Solomon exercised over the development of Jahvism. We shall not be wrong, if we consider it of even greater importance than all that they did for the express purpose of influencing the religious condition of their people. It is well known that the reigns of the two kings, from a political point of view, formed a somewhat sharp contrast—the contrast of war and

* Deut. xxxiii. 10, xxiv. 8; Zeph. iii. 4; Jer. ii. 8, viii. 8, xviii. 18; Ezek. vii. 26, xxii. 26; Hagg. ii. 12; Mal. ii. 6–9.

† Deut. xxiv. 8 refers to the priestly, oral "thorah," which, therefore, the lawgiver did not intend to incorporate in its entirety with his code.

peace, labour and repose. David, a born warrior and the idol of his soldiers, carries on a series of wars, which result almost without exception in Israel's favour. He curtails the power of the Philistines, wards off the attacks of the neighbouring nations, and extends his territory far beyond its former borders. It is clear that these exploits had great effect. Led by such a king, the Israelites began to be self-conscious and to attach a value to their nationality. Jealousy still existed between the tribes and broke out now and then even in David's reign.* Yet the sense of unity could not well be aroused more strongly than by the common victories gained under his command. Now it is obvious that this increase of Israel's self-consciousness must have reacted at once upon the judgment which the people formed regarding their national god. Jahveh received the honour of every triumph gained by Jahveh's people. In proportion as the Israelites became more powerful and occupied a higher position among the nations with which they came in contact, Jahveh rose in the estimation both of his worshippers and of foreigners. As the treasures captured by David served to build and beautify Jahveh's temple,† so did that prince's victories magnify Jahveh himself. For, in the eyes of the Israelites themselves, it was the "battles of Jahveh" that he fought.‡ This one expression, which we have good grounds for taking as contemporary,§ is better adapted than a long demonstration for enabling us to perceive the impression which David's military fame must have made on his contemporaries.

Solomon's reign operated in a somewhat different direction. He retained possession of the power which his father had won, but did not extend it. But by the splendour of his court, by the buildings with which he adorned his capital, by the cities which he either founded or restored, he made known to the world, as it were, that Israel had emerged out of a state of anarchy and helplessness. By this means he worked upon the

* 2 Sam. ii. 14—16, xix. 11 seq., 41 seq., xx.

† 2 Sam. viii. 10—12.

‡ 1 Sam. xviii. 17, xxv. 28.

§ Comp. Num. xxi. 14.

imaginations both of the Israelites and their neighbours, even more than David had done; the enjoyment of the fruits of victory exercised the influence described above, even more than the victory itself. So far, Solomon's reign can be said to have been the continuation of his father's, and also in this respect, that he compelled the Canaanites who had not yet been subjected to or fused with Israel to submit to servile labours.* But his reign also had its peculiar features. Solomon encouraged commerce, and himself set the example of carrying it on. A very active trade was entered into with Egypt.† In conjunction with the Phœnicians, Solomon trafficked with Ophir, on the west coast of India, and with Tarshish (Tartessus), in Spain.‡ The city of Tadmor, afterwards Palmyra, was founded by him as an emporium for the wares of Babylonia.§ The fruits of this commerce were enjoyed in the first place by the king, but also by the people at the same time. In any case, the Israelites gained very much by it indirectly. Their horizon was extended. They now learnt to know nations, countries, productions and customs of which they had never heard before. They began to distinguish between nations and tribes which were akin to them, and the peoples from whom they differed in language and descent. The Old Testament shows us that the geographical knowledge of the Israelites, however defective it may have been in many respects, was tolerably extensive: a document such as the table of Noah's posterity evinces both learning and reflection. Now Solomon's reign laid the foundations of that knowledge. If the Israelites had formerly stood comparatively alone, under his influence friendly relations were contracted with nations such as the Phœnicians and Egyptians, who stood very high in point of civilization, and from whom so rude a people as the Israelites then were had very much to learn. A little reflection shows at once how closely all this is connected with the development of their religion. So long as a people's horizon is confined and its

* 1 Kings ix. 20, 21.
† 1 Kings x. 28, 29, comp. ix. 16.
‡ 1 Kings ix. 26—28, x. 11, 22.
§ 1 Kings ix. 18.

knowledge scanty, it must—in so far as it does not slavishly borrow from others—form very contracted ideas of the deity. Higher religious development does not always follow an increase of knowledge and general civilization, but the latter is an indispensable condition of the former. The ideas expressed by the prophets of the eighth century B.C. could not possibly have arisen among a people that had not yet emerged out of barbarism. Solomon, when he brought the productions of three quarters of the globe to his kingdom, attracted foreign artists to his court, and encouraged intercourse with foreign nations, simply followed the direction pointed out to him by his nature and the circumstances in which he was placed. About 350 years after his death, a pious servant of Jahveh, the author of the law relating to kings in Deuteronomy, could borrow from his portrait the traits of the Israelitish king as he ought *not* to be.* And the motives which actuated Solomon were indeed by no means religious ones. Yet "one sows and another reaps." Jahvism gathered the fruits of that which he planted with worldly intentions.

IV. *The First Century after the Disruption.*

In speaking of the building of the temple by Solomon, we remarked that this undertaking displeased some of his contemporaries. In their eyes, it was a departure from the genuine, ancestral Jahveh-worship. We need scarcely say that those who were of this opinion disliked the whole of Solomon's policy. The law relating to kings, which has just been noticed as pronouncing a condemnatory judgment on this prince, is too far removed from his time to permit us to regard it as expressing the opinion of his contemporaries. But it is very probable that there were some among them who were unfavourably disposed

* Deut. xvii. 14—20. The polemical reference to Solomon is especially apparent in ver. 17, but also in ver. 16.

towards him for the same reasons, although they could not give such distinct reasons for their aversion as the author of that law was able to do. At all events, we find that the prophets at the beginning of the eighth century B.C., who stood so much nearer to Solomon, already entertained almost the same ideas as this lawgiver.* Yet it is very improbable that these Jahvistic antipathies would have operated in other quarters, and have brought about any essential change, if those who cherished them had stood alone. This, however, was not the case. While Solomon drove the Jahveh-worshippers of the true stamp into hostility against himself, he roused the discontent of many of his subjects by his extortions, and excited the ancient jealousy of the powerful tribe of Ephraim against Judah by favouring the capital at the expense of the rest of the kingdom. So many elements of resistance now gradually accumulated, that an explosion could not fail to occur. After an attempt at resistance had already been made, but had speedily been quelled,† during Solomon's lifetime, Rehoboam's folly, even so early as at his installation as king, gave the signal for rebellion.‡ Ten tribes, with Ephraim at their head, separated from Judah, and formed a distinct kingdom, under Jeroboam the son of Nebat. We shall now fix our attention upon the connection between this event and Israel's religious development.

The revolt of the ten tribes is, in the first place, a proof of the power of the stricter Jahvistic party, which was led by the prophets of Jahveh. The author of the books of Kings decidedly leads us to regard their insurrection from this point of view According to him, it was the prophet Ahijah, the Shilonite, who promised Jeroboam dominion over ten out of the twelve tribes,§ before he had ever entertained any such expectation. At the same time, we cannot possibly hold Ahijah's address to Jeroboam to be authentic, as it stands: it is full of later ideas and expres-

* See above, pp. 36—38, comp. 62.

† 1 Kings xi. 26, 40.

‡ 1 Kings xii.

§ 1 Kings xi. 26 seq.

sions, and fits so exactly into the framework in which the historian places his events, that, in its present form, we have no hesitation in attributing it to him. Curiously enough, this author himself gives us one or two particulars, from which it is evident that Jeroboam was by no means so passive as we should otherwise infer from his narrative.* We may not, therefore, assert that the revolt of the ten tribes was the work of the prophets of Jahveh. But we can assume, in accordance with the historian, that they promoted it, and by their co-operation legalized it in the eyes of all who honoured them as interpreters of Jahveh. Prophecy thus comes forward here as a political power: an important fact, which decided its immediate future. It thereby acquired a legitimate claim to the gratitude of the new king and his successors, and, as experience soon taught, would not neglect to demand payment of this debt. We perceive already that the kingdom of the ten tribes, even though it were the child of politics, certainly had the prophets for its godfathers: its subsequent history will more than once remind us of this its commencement.

It is quite in accordance with this semi-religious character of the revolution which placed Jeroboam on the throne, that it had as its immediate consequence the introduction of a new public worship. Sanctuaries were built—or perhaps, more precisely, existing sanctuaries enlarged and embellished—by Jeroboam in the south and north of his kingdom, at Beth-el and at Dan, and raised to the rank of national temples: in the interiors of these temples there stood a gilt image of a bull, the symbol of Jahveh: the feast which all Israel used to keep at Jerusalem in the seventh month, was to take place in future, by order of Jeroboam, at Dan and at Beth-el, but rather later, in the eighth month, after the vintage was over in the north of the land as well as elsewhere.†—We need not prove here over again that it was really Jahveh who was worshipped at Beth-el and Dan, and that

* 1 Kings xi. 26—40. † 1 Kings xii. 25—33.

the image of the bull was not borrowed from Egypt, but had already been in use in Israel before.* There is another question, however, which we must expressly treat, viz., What did Jeroboam's contemporaries think of this new state religion? Was he the organ of public opinion when he set up the images of the bull, or did this act bring him into conflict with the convictions of his subjects? The answer to this question is not far to seek. We must reflect that Solomon had moved in a new direction, to which Israel was unaccustomed; he had been a man of progress; one-sided we admit, but still progressive. It was against this that the ten tribes now rebelled. Jeroboam therefore had no choice: he was forced to go back to the old ways. But it is characteristic of every reaction, that it does not confine itself to restoring what existed before, but exaggerates in its turn. Thus it was quite natural that Jeroboam did not revive the state of things from which Solomon had departed, but chose older models for imitation. In other words, he went back to the practices which had prevailed in the period of the Judges. Probably the golden bull had always remained in vogue as a symbol of Jahveh, although since David's time it had been thrust out of the place of honour and was no longer tolerated in the national sanctuary. Here Jeroboam introduced a change. That which for about seventy years had only been practised in the smaller sanctuaries, he made the religion of the state. In so doing he could reckon upon the approbation and applause of the vast majority of his subjects, who were naturally much attached to the old and well-known Jahveh-worship. It does not appear, therefore, that the golden bull met with the slightest opposition from the people. "The sin of Jeroboam, the son of Nebat"—as the historian of later days calls it—was imitated by all his successors, and, as far as we know, was never imputed to them as a sin by their subjects.

But then the prophets of Jahveh? Were they also satisfied

* See above, pp. 235 seq.

with Jeroboam's rites? They certainly had no liking for the temple at Jerusalem: it is one of the chief proofs of the spuriousness of Ahijah's address to Jeroboam, that he speaks of this sanctuary with so much affection.* It was therefore, no doubt, with their approval that Jeroboam forbade any participation in the feasts in the temple at Jerusalem: how could Ephraim preserve its independence, if it had to go to Judah for its religion? Nevertheless the possibility remains that the prophets would have preferred a form of worship without images of Jahveh. There can even be some foundation for the statement, that besides a prophet from Judah, who is not named,† Ahijah also condemned the bull-worship.‡ As far, at least, as we know, there was no image of Jahveh in the temple at Shiloh, Ahijah's native place. Did Ahijah, true to the Mosaic tradition and the recollections of his youth, perhaps cherish and even express the desire that Jeroboam would establish public worship upon a different footing? Did some of the prophets of Jahveh, perchance, join in that wish? Even should these questions have to be answered in the affirmative, circumstances, nevertheless, prevented this condemnation of Jeroboam's measures from having much, or any, effect upon the masses. Other questions, of considerably greater significance, soon arose. Under Omri and his successors (932 B.C. and subsequently) it was no longer the question *how*, but *whether* Jahveh should be worshipped by Israel as the national god. When, in consequence of Jehu's elevation to the throne (884 B.C.), this question had been decided in conformity with the views held by Elijah and his school; when the prophets of Jahveh had thus gained their main purpose, they could easily give way with regard to a subordinate point. It is not until nearly a century later that—not the prophets in general, but—some of them speak plainly against the bull-worship. But this step of theirs was preceded by an important modification of their ideas, the causes of which we cannot sketch just yet.

* 1 Kings xi. 32, 36. † 1 Kings xiii. ‡ 1 Kings xiv. 8 seq.

From the year 978 B.C., therefore, the kingdoms of Judah and Ephraim now stood side by side. We have already touched upon their fortunes and their mutual relation during the first two centuries of their existence.* We will now glance at their religious development. That in so doing we should study each of the two kingdoms separately, needs no justification. But for the sake of perspicuity we must make yet another division. We shall separate the period between the disruption and the beginning of the eighth century B.C. into two nearly equal portions, and this for the following reason. In the commencement of the ninth century B.C.—in Ephraim in 884 and in Judah in 878 B.C.—a revolution occurred which forms an epoch in the history of their religion. It is for this reason that we shall treat separately of that which preceded it and that which followed it.

The author of the books of Kings does not omit to pass judgment upon the princes who governed Judah, from Rehoboam downwards. It does not concern their merits as rulers, but their attitude towards the worship of Jahveh. We must not therefore neglect to make ourselves acquainted with these verdicts. That which the Chronicler adds to them, we can generally pass over in silence without loss. Under Rehoboam—it is said†—Judah did that which was evil in the sight of Jahveh: they made high places and pillars (*maççebas*) and *asheras*‡ upon every high hill and under every green tree; and there were also "*kedeshîm*"—eunuchs who sold themselves to the worshippers of the deity to whom they were "dedicated"§—in the land; all the abominations of the former, Canaanite, inhabitants were imitated. Abijam walked in the footsteps of his father: "his heart was not perfect with Jahveh his god, as the heart of David his forefather."‖ Asa, on the contrary, his son and successor, "did that which was right in the eyes of Jahveh; he drove out the *kedeshîm* from the

* Pp. 156—158.

† 1 Kings xiv. 22—24.

‡ Comp. above, pp. 77, 88.

§ Comp. above, p. 92.

‖ 1 Kings xv. 3.

land and removed all the "foul gods" which his fathers had made, and among others the image which the queen-mother had prepared for Ashera; yet the high places remained during his reign, and sacrifices were offered and incense burnt there continually.* This was also the case under Jehoshaphat, who, besides, resembled his father in all respects.† But Joram his successor "walked in the way of the kings of Israel, according to that which the house of Ahab had done, for he had a daughter of Ahab for his wife; so did he evil in the sight of Jahveh."‡ The son born of this marriage followed the example of his parents in everything.§ When he was slain by Jehu, during the revolution in the kingdom of Ephraim, his mother Athaliah made herself mistress of the government: during her reign there stood at Jerusalem a temple of Baal, which was destroyed by the people after the elevation of Jehoash, her grandson, to the throne of his fathers.‖

I have given all these accounts consecutively on purpose. Is it necessary now expressly to demonstrate that they are utterly incapable of giving us a clear insight into the religious condition of the kingdom of Judah during the hundred years over which they extend? It seems from them as if the kings had that condition in their own hands and altered it at their pleasure, as if the people had no will of their own in this respect, and did nothing but follow the intimations given them by their rulers. Is such a thing credible? Are gods changed like clothes? Where do we find here the traces of a natural and regular development? We admit that kings in the East, and thus in Israel too, had great influence, and therefore we do not doubt that these accounts concerning them have some foundation in fact. But before we can assign to these princes their proper place in the course of events, we must have some-

* 1 Kings xv. 11—14.

† 1 Kings xxii. 43, 44. It would follow, however, from v. 46 that Asa had not expelled quite all the kedeshim.

‡ 2 Kings viii. 18. § 2 Kings viii. 27. ‖ 2 Kings xi. 18.

thing tangible by which we can hold fast and with which we can connect all the rest. Is such a fixed point anywhere to be found?

The historian's opinion of Jehoshaphat, as we have learnt, is very favourable. Yet he himself relates, that this king not only lived at peace with Ahab,* but also took part in the wars of Ahab against the Syrians† and of Joram against the Moabites,‡ as their ally, nay, even asked and obtained in marriage Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab and Jezebel, for his son and successor Joram.§ These facts are incontestable and throw the desired light upon Jehoshaphat's Jahvism—quite a different light from that in which the Chronicler places him.‖ His Jahvism cannot possibly have been exclusive. The Jahveh whom he served was not yet the jealous god who would tolerate no other gods beside himself. We can hardly imagine, therefore, that he came forward as the enemy of those other gods. We may suppose that he would not allow their worship in the temple at Jerusalem, and perhaps not even in the capital. He certainly did not permit them to contest Jahveh's right to supremacy, or to dispute his, the god of Israel's, precedence. But much further than this he cannot have gone—unless we like to assert that in his relation to Ahab he was all at once unlike himself, and wilfully demolished his own work by his son's marriage; a supposition which there is nothing whatever to justify. Here we have an important fact. There is not the slightest ground for judging that Asa differed, in the respect referred to, from Jehoshaphat his son. Nor have we any right to assume that these two kings, regarded from the point of view of Jahvism, were inferior to the great majority of their contemporaries. We thus arrive at the conclusion that in the kingdom of Judah, during the century of which we are speaking, even in the reigns of the kings who by no means favoured foreign modes of worship, Jahveh was adored along

* 1 Kings xxii. 44. † 1 Kings xxii., especially v. 4. ‡ 2 Kings iii.
§ 2 Kings viii. 18. ‖ See 2 Chr. xvii. 7 seq., xix. 4 seq., xx. 6 seq.

with other gods, not as the only, but as the first and principal deity.

The little that we are told concerning Athaliah confirms us in this opinion. She held the sceptre for six years. It is true, it does not appear that a single man in Judah raised a hand in her defence in the rebellion led by Jehoiada. But we learn nothing of seditious agitations against her, prior to this. The temple of Baal at Jerusalem was tolerated without a word of contradiction, until, after Athaliah's death and under the influence produced by Jehoash's accession, "the people of the land" pulled it down.* May we not consider this passive attitude as a proof that Jehoshaphat's alliance with Ahab was construed favourably? If the majority of the people had served Jahveh exclusively, would Athaliah have been able to reign unmolested for so many years?

Now, therefore, we understand the real meaning of the formula with which the historian concludes his verdict upon Asa and Jehoshaphat: "only the high places were not removed; the people continued to offer and burn incense upon the high places."† The writer occupies the standpoint of the Deuteronomic law, which forbids any sacrifice beyond the temple at Jerusalem. In the tenth century B.C. this prohibition had not yet been thought of, so that no one can blame Asa and Jehoshaphat for allowing what at that time nobody considered unlawful. But if the Israelites of those days did not in general pay an exclusive homage to Jahveh, there was no reason for them to exclude the images and symbols of the other gods from those lesser sanctuaries. It was rather quite natural that the other gods should be served in the high places besides Jahveh, and that ceremonies and practices were adopted into Jahvism which did not belong to it. In fact, then, these high places were not

* 2 Kings xi. 18.

† 1 Kings xv. 14, xxii. 43. With regard to 2 Chr. xiv. 2, xvii. 6, see my *Hk. O.* I. 116, n. 19.

so harmless as the historian, while he condemns them, seems to imagine. "Nevertheless, Asa's heart was perfect with Jahveh all his days"—so he writes,* immediately after mentioning the continuance of the high places. This may indeed have been so, if Asa be judged by the standard of his own time. But it cannot have been so, if the distinguishing mark of the servant of Jahveh be held to lie in fidelity to the watchword, "none other gods beside—or even beneath—Jahveh."

It is a question, whether Jahvism would for any length of time have withstood the pernicious influence of this combination. Before it could develop itself, it was necessary that its peculiar character should be recognized, and this was just what the worship in the high places was gradually effacing. The danger increased in proportion as the Israelites became more accustomed to the Canaanitish gods and to the rites of their worship, and this custom threatened to become a second nature. Therefore it was fortunate for the future of Jahvism that it came into conflict with other religions. The kingdom of Ephraim was the actual scene of that conflict; we shall therefore revert to it immediately. But when the triumph of Jahvism had been decided in the sister-kingdom, the after-piece was played out in Judah, and here also a salutary effect was produced. It is unproved and improbable that Athaliah persecuted the worshippers of Jahveh: her very name ("Jahveh is strong") includes the recognition of Jahveh. But she certainly favoured the service of Baal and placed it more or less upon the same footing as the Jahveh-worship, by building a temple to Baal in the capital. The consequences soon followed. The first object of the rebellion of which she became the victim, was the elevation of Jehoash to the throne of his fathers. But it cannot escape our attention that it also evinced a religious character. When Athaliah had been put to death, "Jehoiada"—the chief priest of Jahveh in the temple at Jerusalem—"made a covenant between Jahveh

* 1 Kings xv. 14 b.

and the king and the people, that they should be Jahveh's people, and between the people and the king."* It would seem, therefore, that Athaliah had already been guilty of an infraction of one of the duties which were regarded as binding upon a ruler over the "people of Jahveh." She had made the priests of Jahveh her enemies, and, when it came to open warfare, the people sided with their priests against her. It was some time before the consequences of this event became apparent. But even in itself it merits our attention as a manifestation of the religious condition of the people. By placing oneself upon the standpoint of later times, it is possible to entertain just doubts of the intrinsic worth of their Jahvism, but the earnestness and sincerity of their attachment to the God of Israel may not be doubted.

We will now turn to the kingdom of the ten tribes. The scene which it presents to us is not only more interesting and dramatic, but also really of greater importance, than the contemporaneous events in Judah. We must therefore examine it in detail.

The historian, upon the whole, is very uniform in his judgment of the Ephraimitic kings. We know what he means by "the sin of Jeroboam the son of Nebat." He constantly reminds us that the successive kings "departed not from that sin," "walked in that sin," and thus "did that which was evil in the sight of Jahveh." He writes thus of Nadab,† Baasha,‡ and in other expressions, of Elah,§ and again of Zimri.‖ The same charge is alleged against Omri, but of him it is added: "he did worse than all that were before him."¶ So also it is said of Ahab: "he did evil in the sight of Jahveh, above all that were before him."** In fact, he married Jezebel the daughter of Eth-baal, the king of the Zidonians (or, more cor-

* 2 Kings xi. 17.
‡ 1 Kings xv. 34.
‖ 1 Kings xvi. 19.
** 1 Kings xvi. 30.
† 1 Kings xv. 26.
§ 1 Kings xvi. 13.
¶ 1 Kings xvi. 25, 26.

rectly, of the Tyrians), built a temple to Baal in Samaria his capital and set up "the ashera:" so he did more to provoke Jahveh, the god of Israel, than all the kings of Israel before him.* His son Ahaziah followed his example in everything,† but Ahaziah's successor, Joram, also a son of Ahab and Jezebel, although he "cleaved unto the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat" and thus "did evil in the sight of Jahveh," distinguished himself from his predecessors by not encouraging the service of Baal, nay, even by "putting away the pillar of Baal that his father had made."‡

It is again obvious that, in condemning the Israelitish kings, the historian has used the ideas of his own time as a standard, and that therefore the refrain, "he did evil in the sight of Jahveh," can scarcely be taken as evidence against him to whom it is applied. But for this reason our attention is all the more attracted by the fact that his judgment of Omri and his house, Joram alone excepted, is particularly unfavourable, and that he ascribes to them an extraordinary amount of corruption. This is certainly no arbitrary distinction.§ It is at once made clearer by further statements concerning Ahab, but is fully explained by the more detailed narratives relating to this king, in some of which Elijah the prophet plays the principal part.‖ The latter also appears as an actor during Ahaziah's reign.¶ Shortly after Ahaziah's death, however, he disappears from the stage of history.** He is followed by his pupil Elisha, whom we meet with as a recognized prophet under Ahaziah's successor Joram, and in the army of this king when he marched with Jehoshaphat to chastise the Moabites.†† A whole series of particulars concerning him is communicated in the following chapters of the 2 Kings.‡‡ To judge by the position which they occupy, they all fall under the reign of Joram. At all events they are followed by the account of Joram's death, Jehu's eleva-

* 1 Kings xvi. 31—33.
† 1 Kings xxii. 53, 54.
‡ 2 Kings iii. 2, 3.
§ Comp. above, p. 158.
‖ 1 Kings xvii.—xxii.
¶ 2 Kings i.
** 2 Kings ii.
†† 2 Kings iii.
‡‡ 2 Kings iv.—viii.

tion to the throne and his first acts—all of which are closely connected with Elisha's prophetic office, since Jehu is anointed king by one of the sons of the prophets at his command.* In most of these narratives, which are comparatively very full, the service of Baal, encouraged by the house of Omri and opposed by the prophets, occupies a very prominent place. It is clearly shown by these accounts that Omri and his descendants, especially Ahab and Ahaziah, are indebted for their bad name to their exertions in favour of Baal's worship.

Yet it is not very easy to form a clear idea of the relation in which Ahab, in particular, stood to the service of Jahveh. Some of the above-mentioned narratives give us the impression that he was known among his contemporaries, and especially among the prophets of Jahveh, as a worshipper of Jahveh. When, for instance, we repeatedly find prophets coming forward in the war between him and Ben-hadad, to give him advice or encourage him;† or when, before the march to Ramoth in Gilead, which he undertakes in conjunction with Jehoshaphat, no less than 400 prophets surround him and predict his victory‡—it is evidently assumed that he acknowledges Jahveh as the god of Israel, and attaches value to the word of his envoys. In accordance with this stands the fact that his two sons, Ahaziah and Joram, and his daughter Athaliah, bear names compounded with Jahveh—a fact which is of such a nature as to exclude the supposition of any incessant hostility on Ahab's part to the service of Jahveh. But, on the other hand, if there be any foundation in fact for the beautiful narrative of Elijah's contest with the prophets of Baal upon mount Carmel, and his flight to Horeb;§ if the author, or rather the poetical creator, of this narrative has not altogether lost sight of the historical reality, when he brings forward Elijah as the sole representative of Jahvism and describes his triumph, not without exaggeration —then a very keen animosity must from time to time have

* 2 Kings ix. x.
† 1 Kings xx.
‡ 1 Kings xxii.
§ 1 Kings xvii.—xix.

prevailed between Ahab and the worshippers of Jahveh. Probably his relations with them were not always the same: his reign lasted 22 years,* long enough therefore to admit a change of policy. We can only guess at all this: the various narratives are merely put side by side, and the historian leaves it to us to bring them into harmony with each other, so far as we can allow them to be authentic.

Let us try, however, to represent the probable state of the case. Under the influence of his consort Jezebel, Ahab, at the beginning of his reign, proved himself to be a zealous servant of the Tyrian Baal; a temple was built in the capital in honour of this god, and a numerous priesthood, both of Baal and of Ashera, was maintained at the expense of the king and queen.† This marked patronage of a foreign worship necessarily displeased all Israelites of the old stamp, and especially the prophets of Jahveh; their dissatisfaction was not hidden from Ahab and Jezebel, and probably showed itself in open resistance. So Ahab came to appear as a persecutor—or, if any one will, as the defender of his royal prerogatives; at any rate he allowed Jezebel to "root out the prophets of Jahveh."‡ They were reduced to such distress and to such straits, that a man like Elijah the Tishbite thought it advisable to seek an asylum on foreign territory.§ Nay, the author, whose narrative we here follow, can even venture to put into his mouth the complaint: "I have been very zealous for Jahveh, the god of hosts: for the children of Israel have forsaken thy covenant, thrown down thine altars, and slain thy prophets with the sword, and I, even I only, am left"‖—a complaint which is no doubt exaggerated, but yet is certainly not without some foundation. In the meantime, it must soon have become evident to Ahab that he could not go on in this way without estranging his subjects. Did the famine which afflicted the land in his reign¶ actually awaken,

* 1 Kings xvi. 29.
† 1 Kings xviii. 19.
‡ 1 Kings xviii. 4.
§ 1 Kings xvii. 8 seq., xix. 1 seq.
‖ 1 Kings xix. 10, 14.
¶ 1 Kings xvii. 1 seq.

not only in many of the people, but also in himself, the conviction that Jahveh could not be forsaken with impunity? Did Elijah—not only in the end, and by his personal influence and his words, but also—upon a particular occasion really gain a victory over the priests and prophets of Baal? We do not know: the narrative of the contest on mount Carmel* is too poetical to allow us to build much upon it. But such a course of events is by no means improbable. In any case, Ahab stood, towards the end of his reign, upon a better footing with his former opponents,† and his disposition at that time—whether it were indifference or favourable inclination—was the result of the bold perseverance of which the prophets of Jahveh had set the people the example.

At the same time, this victory of Jahvism was not decisive. At any moment Ahab, the only too docile husband of Jezebel, could change his mind, and return to the course which he had followed before; we are taught how little he could brook from the prophets of Jahveh by the fate of Micaiah the son of Imlah, who had to atone in prison for the freedom with which he foretold the result of the expedition to Ramoth.‡ Jezebel did not cease to encourage the worship of Baal. Ahab's successor, Ahaziah, consulted the oracle of Baal-zebub at Ekron.§ Joram, it is true, did not uphold the policy of his father; if he really "put away the pillar of Baal that his father had made,"‖ then the reaction actually emanated from him. But it was very natural that, in the opinion of the zealots, he did not carry it out with sufficient energy: he found it difficult to break entirely with the tradition of his race. And besides, supposing even that he had been willing to come forward as an opponent of Baal, would he by this means have satisfied and propitiated the prophets of Jahveh? We must doubt it most strongly. More than one of

* 1 Kings xviii. Comp. *Nieuw en Oud*, New Series, V. 107 seq.
† 1 Kings xxii. 1 seq.
‡ 1 Kings xxii. 26, 27.
§ 2 Kings i.
‖ 2 Kings iii. 2, 3.

their number had already pronounced sentence of rejection upon Ahab.* In those days it was generally believed that "Jahveh visits the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate him."† No other belief than this, especially at that time, appeared to agree with the holy and severe character of Jahveh. Thus, in spite of Joram's advances to the servants of Jahveh, it is quite conceivable that the prophets should have wished to place a new dynasty upon the throne. At Elisha's command, Jehu was anointed king.‡ He seemed to be the man destined to execute the programme of the zealot party, and he did not disappoint their expectations. The whole house of Omri is rooted out, and, in violation of the laws of hospitality, Ahaziah of Judah, Ahab's grandson, together with his relations, is also murdered by Jehu.§ But all this only affected the worship of Baal indirectly. The historian relates to us, with evident pleasure, how Jehu contrived to deal it a decisive blow.‖

Before we examine the measures adopted by Jehu more closely, let us turn aside for a moment to a small, but remarkable, particular related to us by the author in the beginning of his account. When Jehu went to Samaria, after the murder of Ahaziah's brethren, Jehonadab the son of Rechab came to meet him. Jehonadab assures him of his pleasure at his accession as king, and accompanies him to the capital, to witness "his zeal for Jahveh." He was present, in fact, at the terrible slaughter which Jehu perpetrated among the worshippers of Baal. Who is this Jehonadab, who is represented here, not as an ordinary subject, but almost as Jehu's equal, and whose approval the latter evidently values so highly? According to the Chronicler,¶ whom we believe without hesitation, Rechab belonged to the tribe of the Kenites, which penetrated into Canaan at the same

* 1 Kings xix. 16, xx. 42, xxi. 22 seq.
† Exod. xx. 5; Deut. v. 9.
‡ 1 Kings xix. 16; 2 Kings ix. 1 seq.
§ 2 Kings ix. 27, 28, x. 13, 14.
‖ 2 Kings x. 15—31.
¶ 1 Chr. ii. 55.

time as the Israelites, or attached itself to the tribe of Judah shortly afterwards.* A division of this tribe, named after Heber, continued its nomadic life in the north of the country at the time of the Judges.† If, as may be assumed without hesitation, Jehonadab the son of Rechab was prince or sheikh of such a division of the Kenites in Jehu's time, the conversation between him and Jehu is fully explained. Now it is very remarkable that this Jehonadab appears here as zealously attached to the service of Jahveh. How very much he was in earnest is shown by Jeremiah's statement,‡ that Jehonadab's descendants, by their father's direction, still lived in tents, and abstained from wine and strong drinks in his days—no doubt in order to keep entirely free from the worship of the Canaanitish gods, whose gift wine was considered to be, and in whose temples it was enjoyed in profusion.§ Here, again, therefore, the nomadic life and aversion to the Canaanites and their religion are intimately connected. It is not without reason that we ascribe a Canaanitish origin to Israel's worship of Baal and Ashera, and that we explain the opposition to it as springing from an attachment to the ancestral institutions and customs. It makes no difference here that the Kenites do not properly belong to Israel: their religion must, no doubt, have been closely related to that of the sons of Israel from the very beginning; the marriage of Moses with the daughter of one of their number, and their consequent junction with the conquerors, must gradually have altogether obliterated the distinction, if it ever existed.

But to return to Jehu. Let the reader peruse for himself, in the historical narrative, how he deceitfully enticed the worshippers of Baal into the temple of their deity, and treacherously caused them to be put to death there.‖ We do not exactly understand how it was that they allowed themselves to be

* Judges i. 16. Comp. above, pp. 181 seq.

† Judges iv. 11, 17.

‡ Jer. xxxv.

§ See above, pp. 303, 316.

‖ 2 Kings x. 18—25.

caught by Jehu's rather clumsy stratagem. But this difficulty probably arises from the historian's method of representing and arranging the facts. The main point itself is not open to doubt. The adherents of Baal were slain; Baal's pillars were brought outside the temple and burnt; *the pillar*—presumably the proper symbol—of Baal was thrown down, as was also the temple itself, which was made into a dung-heap "unto this day." Thus "did Jehu destroy Baal out of Israel."* The object of Jahveh's prophets was attained, and even if the prophecy which the narrative immediately after introduces date from later times, it is probable in itself that Jehu's conduct met with their approval.

The great importance of these facts for the religious development of Israel is obvious. We have already noticed that, though originally confined to the kingdom of the ten tribes, they were repeated on a smaller scale in Judah; this does but increase their significance. But quite a false idea would be formed of their influence, were it imagined that the worship of Baal, or even of the strange gods in general, had now for ever come to an end. The reverse is historically established. About a century after Jehu's elevation to the throne, while his descendants yet rule as kings, Amos and Hosea lament the continuance of the worship of Baal;‡ and from a still earlier time the information reaches us, that "the ashera stood at Samaria."§ Nor was it to be expected that Jehu's zeal would have more than a passing effect: the leaning of the Israelites towards the worship of the Canaanitish gods did not date from yesterday and could not be rooted out so easily. Nevertheless, the consequences of the struggle with the Tyrian Baal and of the victory of Jahvism were most important. Had the issue of the conflict been different, the existence of the Jahveh-worship would have been at stake: the averting of this danger alone was an important result. But further, from this period onward we find Jahvism enjoying un-

* 2 Kings x. 25—28.
† 2 Kings x. 30.
‡ Above, pp. 72 seq.
§ 2 Kings xiii. 6.

disputed possession of the honour and privileges of a national religion. We learn nothing more of any attempts to drive it from that position. It is true that the worship of other gods and the combination of their service with that of Jahvêh still goes on, but the belief in "Jahveh the god of Israel" is assailed no longer. The prophets of the eighth century B.C., as we have already pointed out,* are able to start from it as an universal conviction. For this firm foundation for their preaching they had to thank Elijah and his school.

But much more important still was the influence of the war between Baal and Jahveh upon the minds of those who had remained loyal to Jahveh and had stood in the breach for his cause. The saying that "the blood of martyrs is the seed of the church" was verified in this case also. Jahveh became more dear to them, their dependence upon him more earnest than before, now that they had to bear persecution for his sake. But besides this, the contrast "Jahveh *or* Baal"† must have led them to compare the two gods together and to take account of the peculiar character of each. Why Jahveh and not Baal? Why should they die rather than renounce Jahveh?—these questions were laid before them by the very circumstances of their position. For those who endeavoured to answer them a new light was thrown on Jahvism. In short, the higher conception of Jahvism, of which the prophets of the eighth century B.C. are the eloquent interpreters, sprang out of these questions. Jahveh, his nature, his character, the difference between him and the other gods: all this, through the course of events, becomes, for his faithful adherents, a subject of serious reflection, not exactly of calm, philosophical inquiry, but of that kind of meditation in which the voice of heart and conscience can make itself heard. The immediate future was to show what has since been confirmed by long experience, that "great thoughts come from the heart."‡

* Pp. 68 seq. † Comp. 1 Kings xviii. 21, 37, 39. ‡ Vauvenargues.

V. *The Ninth Century before our Era.*

It is evident, then, that the century of which we will now proceed to treat, the ninth before our era, occupies a most important place in the history of Israel's religious development. The extent of the accounts from which we draw our knowledge of this century, is quite disproportionate to this importance. For a time, it is true, the opinion was pretty general that it had produced the prophecies of Joel, and it was thought that these afforded some certain evidence, dating from the second quarter of the century, of the religious state of the kingdom of Judah. But from more than one point of view serious difficulties are alleged against this opinion, which prevent me from continuing to maintain it.* It is certainly not improbable that literary productions of the ninth century B.C. have been preserved to us; more than one historical narrative in the Pentateuch and the books of Judges and Samuel can be referred to it; and, according to some, the collection of laws which has come down to us under the name of the Book of the Covenant,† also dates from the same period; but we are not *certain* that these documents are not more recent, and do not belong, for instance, to the eighth century B.C. Such being the state of the case, it is not advisable to start in our investigations from those narratives and laws. Information *about* the ninth century is not altogether wanting—in the 2nd book of Kings and the 2nd book of Chronicles—but it is scanty, and, moreover, cannot be trusted implicitly. It may be said, therefore, without exaggeration, that we are less acquainted with this century of Israelitish history than with any other. But if so, what right have we to estimate its significance so highly? Is it not pure arbitrariness to ascribe such high importance to what is almost unknown?

Our answer to these questions is at hand. Here, as every-

* See above, pp. 86 seq.

† Exod. xxi.—xxiii.

where else, we may infer from the result the existence and the operation of the cause. Now we know with sufficient certainty the standpoint upon which the Israelitish kings and prophets stood in the tenth century B.C. We can compare with this the ideas of the prophets of the eighth century B.C. which lie before us in their own writings. There is an unmistakable difference, and even a considerable distance, between them, and the intermediate stage must have been passed in the ninth century B.C. We have thus a general knowledge of the mental labour which was performed in this century; to discover the nature and the course of the development which then took place, we have only to follow the line which runs from Elijah and Elisha to Amos and Hosea. Moreover, the accounts relating to the ninth century B.C., however scanty and unsatisfactory they may be in themselves, are of great service to us, when we have advanced thus far. It is true, they refer almost solely to the political condition of the two kingdoms, but we have already had occasion more than once to remark that upon that condition religious progress was in a considerable degree dependent. Let us then endeavour to arrive at sure results by this road. The information communicated to us as to the history of the ninth century B.C. of course takes precedence.

We will first consult our author with regard to the relation of the successive kings to the service of Jahveh. Concerning the kings of Judah, Jehoash,* Amaziah† and Uzziah,‡ he has nothing but what is good to tell us: "they did that which was right in the sight of Jahveh." "Only"—and this reservation also we remember to have noticed before—"the high places were not taken away; the people still sacrificed and burnt incense upon the high places." Every one will now see plainly how little we can gather from these general phrases. The testimony as to the monarchs of the kingdom of the ten tribes is equally indefinite. Jehu,§ Jehoahaz,‖ Joash¶ and

* 2 Kings xii. 2, 3. † 2 Kings xiv. 3, 4. ‡ 2 Kings xv. 3, 4.
§ 2 Kings x. 29, 31. ‖ 2 Kings xiii. 2. ¶ 2 Kings xiii. 11.

Jeroboam II.,* "did that which was evil in the sight of Jahveh and departed not from the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat." Had we to draw any conclusion at all from these verdicts, it would be no other than that everything in the two kingdoms remained as it had been before. But nothing is more evident than that the historian again employs the ideas and usages of his own time as a standard, and has a very superficial knowledge of the times of which he writes.

The accounts of the political situation in the same space of time are somewhat more definite and exact. Even during the first century of their existence, the sister kingdoms had by no means enjoyed undisturbed prosperity. Let the reader recall to mind their mutual quarrels, the repeated changes of dynasty in the northern kingdom, Shishak's invasion of Judah and the wars with Syria in Ahab's reign. Yet the adversity then experienced was of a transitory character; most of the defeats at that time sustained were soon followed and made good by victories. In the ninth century B.C., on the contrary, the state of affairs was often very calamitous. Formidable enemies to the Ephraimitic kingdom arose first of all in Hazael, king of Syria, and his son Ben-hadad. It is curious to observe how deep an impression their victories, particularly those of Hazael, made upon the men of those and later days. In the epic narrative of Elijah's deeds, Hazael is already pointed out beforehand as the man who, with Jehu and Elisha, is to execute Jahveh's judgments upon Israel.† It does not escape our notice here that—just as in Isaiah,‡ for instance—the extirpation of idolatry, and the dedication of the remainder of the Israelites to the service of Jahveh alone, are set forth as the results expected from these judgments.§ When Elisha afterwards, at Damascus, promises Hazael, then still the captain of Ben-hadad's host, the royal dignity, he bursts into tears, and answers Hazael's inquiry as to the cause of his

* 2 Kings xiv. 24. † 1 Kings xix. 15–17. ‡ Above, p. 66.

§ For the translation should run: "So shall I cause seven thousand to remain in Israel, all knees which have not bowed," &c.

sorrow in these words: "I know the evil that thou wilt do unto the children of Israel. Their strongholds wilt thou burn, their young men wilt thou slay with the sword, and wilt dash their children and rip up their women with child."* The narrative from which we borrow these particulars certainly does not reproduce the pure truth; it is in Elisha's own interest that we do not leave this unnoticed; but as historical evidence of what Hazael had already done it is irrefragable. And it is fully confirmed by the accounts concerning Jehu and his successors. Even in the days of Jehu—we read†—"Jahveh began to cut Israel short," or "to break away pieces from Israel:" the whole of the trans-Jordanic country fell into the hands of the Syrians. But this was but the beginning of their sufferings. Under Jehoahaz, "Jahveh delivered Israel into the hands of Hazael and Ben-hadad." It was only upon very hard and humiliating conditions that the conqueror granted him peace; his army had to be reduced to 50 horsemen, 10 chariots and 10,000 footmen.‡ The reign of Joash is the turning-point in the relations of the two belligerent parties: he gained more than one victory,§ and towards the end of his administration was powerful enough to confront Amaziah, king of Judah, and to inflict on him a severe blow.‖ But in after times men asked themselves why he had not made a better use of his good fortune,¶ and looked upon his son Jeroboam as the real saviour of Israel. It was he who restored the kingdom to its former boundaries and entirely obliterated the remembrance of the calamities which had been endured. Thus we certainly do not exaggerate when we assume that for a quarter of a century** the position of the kingdom of Ephraim was very perilous. Could any doubt still remain with

* 2 Kings viii. 12. † 2 Kings x. 32.

‡ 2 Kings xiii. 3, 7. § 2 Kings xiii. 23—25, and 14—19.

‖ 2 Kings xiv. 8 seq. ¶ 2 Kings xiv. 25—28. With v. 27 b, comp. xiii. 5.

** Jehu reigned from 884 to 856, Jehoahaz till 839, and Joash till 823 B.C. The Syrian oppression lasted from about 860 to 835 B.C., if not still longer.

respect to Hazael's power and prosperity, the account of the war which he waged against Joash of Judah* would remove that doubt. He besieged—so we are told—the city of Gath, then, it would seem, subject to Judah, and took it: in itself even a clear proof that his plans were extensive and that the humiliation of Ephraim, whose territory lay between Syria and the coasts of the Philistines, was complete. But besides this, "Hazael set his face to go up to Jerusalem." And so great was the terror which he inspired, that Joash hastened to pacify him: he bought his safety with the treasures both of his palace and of the temple. This circumstance, the only one of a political nature which is related of the reign of Joash, does not give us a high opinion of his power; at all events it bears witness to discouragement and a want of military ability. The fact—the first of that nature in the history of the kingdom of Judah—that Joash became the victim of a conspiracy planned by his courtiers,† also makes us suspect that the kingdom was in a less favourable condition. Under Amaziah it at first recovered: his victory over the Edomites, followed by the capture of their chief town Selah (Petra),‡ seems to have been of real importance. But a time of suffering soon commenced for Judah, concerning which we are very imperfectly informed, but which, unless all signs deceive us, lasted a considerable time and was very deplorable. Amaziah himself — the historian relates§ — thought good to challenge king Joash of Israel, who at that time had already gained his three victories over the Syrians,‖ to battle. The latter attempted in vain to dissuade him from this design. Amaziah persisted, but had to pay dearly for his temerity. He was beaten and taken prisoner at Beth-shemesh in Judah; Joash entered Jerusalem as victor, not however by one of the gates, but through a wide breach in the city walls—the sign of Judah's defencelessness against Ephraim. At his departure for Samaria

* 2 Kings xii. 17, 18. † 2 Kings xii. 20, 21. ‡ 2 Kings xiv. 7.
§ 2 Kings xiv. 8—14. ‖ 2 Kings xiii. 25.

he carried with him hostages and a large booty. We have already expounded the reasons for which it is assumed that from this period, for nearly thirty years, the kingdom of Judah was subject to Ephraim, or that, at the least, the king of Judah ruled as a vassal, first of Joash and then of Jeroboam II.* But even those who do not acquiesce in this opinion, will readily admit that we were right in speaking of a time of suffering undergone by Judah, and that this kingdom had a large share of the adversity under which Ephraim had shortly before groaned.

This adversity, of which every Israelite felt the weight in a higher or lower degree, cannot but have been above all painful to the zealous servants of the god of their race, Jahveh. The question occurred to them, to what causes were these national calamities to be referred? They stood out in a sufficiently sharp contrast with the prosperity which had been enjoyed not only under David and Solomon, but also under the succeeding kings, to compel many pious men to search earnestly for the explanation of that difference. They too felt sure that—as the later historian expresses it—Jahveh had delivered his people into the hand of Hazael. But why? After the experience which Israel had had in earlier times, there could be no doubt of Jahveh's power to help them and to humble the enemy. If Jahveh did not help them, it was because he would not help them. The cause of this could not lie in him, but must lie in the Israelites themselves. Thus these pious men were naturally brought to look within, and to test the condition of the people of Israel by the standard of Jahveh's will. Now it could not long remain hidden where the fault lurked, and of what sin this people was guilty. It had transgressed the commandment, "Thou shalt have none other gods before my face." Of such great weight was that commandment thus found to be: so jealous was Jahveh of the exclusive worship of the Israelites! A precept which was enforced so strictly, the neglect of which was avenged in this manner, must indeed rest upon good grounds. If Jahveh

* Pp. 185 seq.

proved himself so jealous, it was because he had a right to be so. In fact, who were the other gods, whom up to that time Israel had too often served side by side with, or below him, if not instead of him? This was not a new question for the servants of Jahveh: the struggle between Baal and Jahveh, which we mentioned before, had already placed it upon their lips. But now, by force of circumstances, it was repeated with much greater emphasis and earnestness than formerly. It now appeared, in the reigns of Jehu and his house, that Jahveh was not only disinclined to give way to Baal, but could not even tolerate Baal or any of the other gods beside himself. *Who was Jahveh, who could make such a demand, and,* as experience was now teaching, *could also enforce it?* The fact that the question was raised was the main point here; the answer to it was not difficult to find. From the very beginning, Jahveh's character was conceived and represented differently from that of the natural gods. His moral precepts, the conditions of the covenant between him and Israel, distinguished him from the rest of the deities; with especial clearness and sharpness from his antipodes Baal and Ashera, who legalized, as it were, the indulgence of the sensual passions; but also from Molech and Astarte, to whom he was originally akin. As soon, therefore, as this difference was grasped and recognized in all its significance, the conception of Jahveh's nature began to develop itself *in the direction of a spiritual monotheism.* The very point in which the distinction between Jahveh and the austere natural gods lay, his moral character, presented itself as his proper nature; Jahveh's natural side fell into the background and his moral character advanced into the foreground. Thus men were led to detach Jahveh, as it were, from the natural basis upon which he originally stood. In a word, the idea that "*Jahveh is Spirit,*" and as such is distinct from and exalted far above all that is material—this idea was the natural fruit of meditation upon the difference between Jahveh and the other deities. Yet after this result had been obtained, the existence of those other gods could still continue

to be acknowledged, even though they were regarded as subordinate to Jahveh. But it was far from strange or unnatural that it should begin to be doubted or actually denied. So long as Jahveh merely differed in might and majesty from the gods of the nations, there was no right or reason to declare the nullity of these latter. But now that a distinction in kind had taken the place of a difference in degree, that tendency to deny the reality of the gods, the tendency towards monotheism, was really present. We have not forgotten how it was pointed out above,* that this tendency was victorious in the prophets of the eighth century B.C., although in such a manner that the line which divides their monotheism from the worship of one single national god has not yet, by any means, become everywhere entirely invisible, nay, sometimes even seems scarcely to have been passed.

In one respect this sketch of what passed in the minds of some of the servants of Jahveh in the ninth century B.C. is, though not inaccurate, yet very likely to lead to misunderstanding. It has the appearance, namely, of attributing to those pious men a purely intellectual consideration, a calm examination of the claims of the several gods to their homage. This appearance could not well be avoided: when the workings of their minds are put into words, they at once take the semblance of a more or less logical process of reasoning. But we must hold that the great contention between Jahveh and his rivals was decided before the tribunal of the feelings, rather than before that of the intellect. It was the deep reverence, the holy fear for Jahveh which finally turned the scale. It was in the moments when the heart of the servant of Jahveh was entirely possessed with the thought of Jahveh, that a light, as it were, arose on his soul, which revealed to him the vast difference between the Holy One of Israel and the gods who disputed with him the right to Israel's homage. For those who were indif-

* Pp. 50 seq.

ferent to Jahveh, the comparison which we at first attempted to reproduce, would have had no convincing force; the heart of the pious man anticipated, as it were, such formal comparisons, and thus reached the final result which alone was calculated to satisfy his wants.

Let the reader further consider the peculiar form which the new religious conception, if we have rightly apprehended the mode of its creation, must forthwith have assumed. If the adversity under which Israel had groaned for many successive years really gave the first impulse; if reflection upon Jahveh's nature was attended by the sorrowful recollection of a beautiful but, unfortunately, irrevocable past; then it is most natural that the religious condition of Israel during that past period should have been very favourably judged. The welfare of the nation was, it was believed, inseparably connected with its fidelity to Jahveh. If Israel had flourished under David and Solomon, it was because Jahveh was then worshipped in a manner conformable to his will. Thus men came to antedate the purer conception of Jahveh's nature and worship, which was in reality the fruit of the meditations of the pious in those days of which we are treating, and to form an ideal, historically inaccurate notion of the bygone centuries. And the same result was also reached in another way. We must always remember that *we* look upon the religion of Israel as a relation of the people to Jahveh, in harmony with the ideas which they had formed concerning him; while, according to the pious Israelite of those days, everything originated with Jahveh: he had revealed himself to, and had cared for, Israel; he it was who spoke, and in former times had spoken by the mouth of the prophets. We naturally hold that Israel's religion developed itself and gradually became purer; but it was just as natural for the servant of Jahveh to feel convinced that his religion had been the same from the beginning; the whole idea of development by conflict, which has grown so familiar to us, was unknown to him, and—

let us add—in later times continued to remain unknown to him. Thus the new ideas were immediately regarded as old ones revived. In the estimation of those who cherished them, they gained thereby in certainty and value. We are right in calling this conception illusive, but we may not disregard the fact that it arose *necessarily*; and, at all events at first, had a very salutary effect.

The circumstances of the case prevent us from entering into many details respecting the remarkable process which we have endeavoured to describe: the utter want of historical records—which indeed does not surprise us and as little detracts from the firmness of our conviction—obliges us to confine ourselves to the main fact. Even the questions, *to whom* is the purification of Israel's religious ideas to be ascribed, and *where* did it take place, are such as we cannot answer with complete certainty. Still we may advance conjectures, which possess the highest degree of probability, with respect to each of these points.

In the eighth century B. C. the prophets came forward as champions of pure Jahvism. What can be more natural than to regard the new conception as their creation? And this we have not a moment's hesitation in doing. But at the same time it is most necessary that a distinction should be drawn here. It will be remembered that men like Amos and those of a spirit akin to his, were at issue with the prophetic order as a whole. We are thus unable to assume that the mass of the prophets adopted the new conception, and cannot therefore suppose that it originated among them. Pure Jahvism was not a production of the prophetic schools. It penetrated into them and found in them warm supporters and adherents, but it was not born in them. The decline of the prophetic schools, to which we heard Amos bear witness,* was not an event of yesterday: now that we know from him that it was a fact, it is not difficult to per-

* Above, pp. 196 seq.

ceive the beginnings of it even as early as in the tenth century B.C.* But, as we know, it was not exclusively these associations that produced prophets: they also issued from the bosom of the people, just as in former times prophecy had owed its origin to a strong excitement of the popular feeling. The men whose enthusiasm for Jahveh was of the genuine stamp and free from all selfishness, took earnestly to heart the questions which then arose, and found out the right answers. To them it was revealed that safety for Israel was to be found only in sincere faith in Jahveh and in unqualified submission to his commands. What we recently remarked† as to the connection between the nomadic life and attachment to Jahvism, naturally recurs to us here. Can it be entirely accidental that Amos, the first representative of the new ideas whom we know, was a herdsman from Tekoa? Is it not at all events probable that it was in families such as the one from which he sprang that this silent revolution in religious ideas occurred, of which the world then made no mention, but which was to exercise so great an influence upon its lot in after times?

The appearance of Amos, a man of Judah, at Beth-el, in the kingdom of the ten tribes, seems to point to a certain superiority of the southern over the northern kingdom. It thus leads to the opinion that the religious development which we have sketched took place more particularly in Judah. Elements were indeed to be found there which were wanting in Ephraim: a central Jahveh-worship without an image of Jahveh, a well-organized priesthood, &c. But we must not attach much value to these externals. We have already shown that, as far as religious ideas and practices were concerned, there can have been no great difference between Judah and Ephraim.‡ The prophets were more numerous and powerful in the latter than in the

* 1 Kings xxii. 5 seq. The difference between Micaiah ben Imlah and the 400 prophets is difficult to explain otherwise than by the supposition that a more or less servile spirit prevailed among the latter, *i. e.* in the prophetic schools.

† Pp. 358 seq.

‡ Pp. 350 seq.

former, and from them, as we have seen, the movement proceeded. We soon find Hosea, a citizen of the Ephraimitic kingdom, treading in the footsteps of Amos. Had the latter's proclamation of the spiritual Jahveh been already anticipated by Jonah the son of Amittai, who foretold the victories of Jeroboam II.?* It is certain that a sound and vigorous popular life was not wanting in the northern kingdom either, so that, at all events, the conditions of a higher religious development were present. There are good grounds for holding the Song of Solomon to be a product of Jeroboam's reign.† We cannot look to this poem for enlightenment with respect to Israel's religion: the name of Jahveh occurs in it but once.‡ But the main idea in the "Song of Songs"—as a later generation called it—is severely moral and pure. It contains a glorification of the power of love, which no treasure can buy and which is proof against all temptation.§ Where such thoughts are uttered and applauded, there domestic life flourishes and is held in honour, and there, consequently, the foundation of a deeper conception of religion is not looked for in vain. If, as may indeed be said to be very probable,‖ Psalm xlv. is by the poet of the Song of Solomon and was composed on the occasion of Jeroboam's marriage, it shows how this poet, as the subject of his song requires, naturally takes a religious tone, but at the same time that his religion—as we might have expected—is of a moral character. It is "Jahveh¶ who has established the king's throne for ever and ever," but then "the sceptre of the latter's kingdom is a sceptre of righteousness:" "righteousness has he loved and wickedness he has hated; *therefore* Jahveh his god has anointed him with the oil of gladness above his fellows."** These are ideas which speak

* 2 Kings xiv. 25.

† Comp. my *Hk. O.* III. 379 seq.

‡ Song of Sol. viii. 6.

§ Song of Sol. viii. 6, 7.

‖ Comp. again my *Hk. O.* III. 291, 386.

¶ So we should read vs. 6 and 7, instead of *God*, *Elohim*, which name the reviser of Ps. xlii. sqq. has each time substituted for Jahveh. Besides this, a word must be inserted in v. 6. Comp. Olshausen on this passage.

** Ps. xlv. 6, 7.

well for the people in whose name they are uttered, and lead us to form a favourable opinion of their capacity for higher religious development. We can therefore see no conclusive reasons for placing Ephraim below Judah in this respect. To the question, where did the purer conception of Jahveh's being take its rise, we are inclined to answer: in the two kingdoms, so closely related and attached to one another by so many ties, similar causes led to the same results; in Judah as well as in Ephraim the real nature of Jahvism was unfolded in the ninth century B.C. in greater excellence and purity than before.

VI. *The Eighth Century before our Era.*

We have now returned to the point from which we started. Our sketch of Israel's religious condition in the eighth century B.C. must form the immediate continuation of our survey of the development of the previous centuries—that is to say, unless the latter has been a failure. But are not the phenomena to which I drew attention in Chapter I. indeed the very natural results of such a development as we have now traced step by step? Let us only recall to mind the facts which our former study of the eighth century brought to light. A few select men appear as representatives of a Jahvism which, on the one hand, is clearly distinct from the Jahveh-worship of the people, and yet, on the other hand, is most intimately connected with it. They, the prophets, do not bring forward their ideas as anything new; on the contrary, they consider themselves entitled to exact submission to their requirements from the whole people. But the reality is very far from corresponding even partially to their demands. Even their colleagues, the rest of the prophets, oppose them. This state of things, regarded as a whole, undoubtedly points to a process of refinement and elevation such as that which we have seen Jahvism undergo. If we descend more into detail, we arrive at the same conclusion. The conception entertained by a man like Amos with respect to Jahveh, becomes

intelligible only when we can regard it as the slowly ripened fruit of the germ which was already in existence in the Mosaic time, was preserved by a few persons during the period of the Judges, began to develop itself luxuriantly, under very favourable external circumstances, in the time of Israel's unity, overcame the obstacles which were put in its way in the tenth century B.C., and finally, in the ninth century B.C., attained the full growth of which it was capable and for which it had been destined from the first.

But we need not confine ourselves to a simple reference to what has already been said about Israel's religion in the eighth century B.C. The sketch then presented can, nay, must, be now filled in. More than one account and document is at our disposal, of which in the first Chapter, in accordance with the plan there followed, no use was made, but which we now consult without the least hesitation. It is, moreover, evident that more than one particular, the position and bearings of which were almost or entirely unknown to us at first, now fall readily into their proper places, since we have become acquainted with their antecedents: it is but right that we should now revert to those particulars.

The author of the books of Kings gave us occasion several times to complain of the incompleteness and vagueness of his accounts. Yet he has been of inestimable service to us in the foregoing investigations. Gratitude alone would compel us to listen to him concerning the eighth century also, while at the same time there is a chance of his telling us something that we have not yet learnt from other sources. The judgment which he passes upon the kings who ruled over the kingdom of Ephraim after Jeroboam II., does not disappoint us, it is true, but yet it affords us no light. With regard to almost all of them, he confines himself to the usual formula: "he did that which was evil in the sight of Jahveh; he departed not from Jeroboam's sin."* In regard to Hoshea, the last king only, he makes an exception:

* 2 Kings xv. 9, 18, 24, 28.

it is true that "he did that which was evil in the sight of Jahveh, but not as the kings of Israel that were before him."* It does not appear, however, in what respect his system of government differed from theirs. In any case he cannot have made any great changes, in the public worship for instance, during his short reign. In the kingdom of Judah, according to our historian, things followed the old course under Jotham: like Uzziah his father, he did that which was right in Jahveh's eyes, and yet he allowed the worship in the high places to continue undisturbed.† On the other hand, the writer's opinion of Ahaz is particularly unfavourable:‡ "he walked in the way of the kings of Israel; he sacrificed and burnt incense on the high places and on the hills and under every green tree." Had the author confined himself to these general complaints, we should have had to assume that Ahaz showed himself altogether indisposed to maintain the exclusive Jahvism of the prophets, and, on the contrary, set the example to his subjects in worshipping other gods besides Jahveh. But he adds: "Moreover Ahaz devoted his son by fire, according to the abominations of the heathen, whom Jahveh had cast out from before the children of Israel." This is a new accusation, which is not alleged against any of his predecessors. On the other hand, it is repeated in reference to Manasseh,§ the grandson of Ahaz, while we may infer from the account of Josiah's reformation that these two kings did not stand alone: near Jerusalem, in the valley of the son of Hinnom, there was a "high place" which the worshippers of Jahveh stigmatized with the name of *topheth* (filthiness, impurity), and upon which it was customary for people to devote their (first-born?) sons to Molech by fire, *i.e.* to kill and burn them.‖ Upon the authority of the historian, we assume that Ahaz was *the first king* who by his example recommended the service of Molech, and undoubtedly promoted it. Perhaps the "topheth" was built by him. But that he introduced the

* 2 Kings xvii. 2. † 2 Kings xv. 34, 35. ‡ 2 Kings xvi. 2—4.
§ 2 Kings xxi. 6. ‖ 2 Kings xxiii. 10.

worship of Molech into Israel, and, as has often been asserted, borrowed it from the Assyrians, is both unproved and improbable. This "abomination" was rather one of the many abominations which had existed among the Israelites for centuries, whether they adopted it from the Canaanites—as the author of Kings states—or brought it with them into Canaan.* So long, however, as the service of Molech was only practised here and there and remained confined to a few families or places, it had comparatively but little importance, and the Israelitish historians did not find it necessary to speak of it. It was not until Ahaz connected himself with the worshippers of Molech, that the sacrificing of children in honour of that deity was mentioned in their annals. What may have induced this king to offer up his son to the god of fire, we are not informed. It is only from conviction that a father does such a deed. Ahaz did not offer this sacrifice from the mere love of sinning—as our author represents—but because he believed in Molech and expected help from him. Perhaps his contact with the Assyrians, who also sacrificed human beings,† may have incited him to follow their example. At any rate, the rise of the Molech-worship bears witness to awakened religious wants: the servants of Jahveh, from the standpoint which they had then reached, abhorred it, but in reality they had more to hope from those who thus proved how much in earnest they were in their religion, than from those who took part in the existing rites with indifference and from habit.

The more vividly we can picture to ourselves the state of things which prevailed in Judah under a king like Ahaz, the more plainly do we perceive that not a word too much‡ has been said of the obstacles to Hezekiah's reformation.§ But we shall limit ourselves for the present to referring to this former survey. When we treat of Manasseh, we shall naturally revert

* See above, pp. 249 seq.

† 2 Kings xvii. 31.

‡ Above, pp. 80—82.

§ 2 Kings xviii. 4.

to Hezekiah; in order to comprehend the reaction we shall have to recall to mind the measures against which it was directed.

So much regarding the author of 2 Kings. Of greater importance to us than his historical accounts, are those literary documents which, in addition to the prophecies properly so called, had their origin in the eighth century B.C. By consulting the prophetic writings exclusively, we expose ourselves to the risk of becoming one-sided. Nothing can be more welcome to us than the opportunity of hearing other witnesses also, and of testing by their words the conception of things which we have gradually formed. Of course, those who deserve the preference are just the writers who, compared with the prophets, show most individuality. We can pass over many a narrative and poem in silence, because it teaches us nothing which we did not know before.* Other literary remains, on the contrary, decidedly extend our knowledge.

We noticed before, that the prophets of the eighth century B.C., how much soever they may agree upon all main points, still have their personal opinions and convictions. This is true, *e.g.*, of their expectations respecting the future, which partly depend upon the constantly modified political circumstances, and partly bear the stamp of the individuality of those who utter them.† Up to a certain degree this can also be said of the rest of their ideas; just because the latter were still in process of formation, there was room for the influence of personality to operate. Now it is of this very influence that one of the above-mentioned literary remains of the eighth century B.C. affords us a very remarkable testimony. The last chapter but one of the book of Deuteronomy‡ contains a poem upon the tribes which together formed the Israelitish nation. It is called in its title§ "The blessing wherewith Moses the man of God blessed the

* Thus, *e.g.*, the conception of history and the religious convictions which are expressed in the so-called Song of Moses, Deut. xxxii. 1—43, are closely akin to, nay, are, properly speaking, not distinct from, those of the prophets.

† See above, pp. 64 seq. ‡ Deut. xxxiii. § Deut. xxxiii. 1.

children of Israel before his death;" but the poet himself did not for a moment think of desiring to pass for Moses; he speaks of him rather as of a third person,* and lets it be known as plainly as possible that he lived subsequently to the establishment of the monarchy.† It is correctly inferred from the contents that he was a contemporary of Jeroboam II., and therefore of Amos and Hosea. Now the difference between him and these men is most remarkable. His views are not at all less religious than theirs. But while they in preference turn their attention to Israel's errors and come forward as preachers of repentance and prophets of misfortune at the same time, this poet cannot find words strong enough to celebrate worthily the privileges which Israel enjoys above other nations, and overlooks all the people's defects in consideration of this transcendent blessing. But let us study what he says more minutely. He glorifies Jahveh as great beyond comparison:

"There is none like unto the god of Jeshûrun,‡
Who rideth through the heavens to thy help
And in his majesty upon the clouds.
A place of refuge is the god of old
And the stretching out of the eternal arms.
He thrust out the enemy from before thy face and said,
'destroy!'
Then Israel dwelt in safety,
And the fountain of Jacob apart,
In a land of corn and wine,
Upon which his heavens dropped down dew.
Happy be thou, O Israel! who is like unto thee?
A people victorious through Jahveh,
Who is the shield of thy help,
And the sword of thy excellency!

* Verses 3, 21. † Verse 5.

‡ Comp. verse 5; Deut. xxxii. 15. The meaning of this name is, *the just, the virtuous one.* It is a title of honour for Israel, and at the same time imitates the sound of Israel's name.

Thine enemies flatter thee,
And thou treadst upon their high places!"*

The poet's conception of the Jahveh-worship agrees with this ideal view of the blessings which Israel reaps from its alliance with Jahveh. It will be remembered how unfavourably the prophets are wont to regard that worship, because they fix their eyes especially upon what it lacks, upon the want of harmony between the outward act and the disposition of the heart. No reference is made to this here. Benjamin—it is said†—

"The beloved of Jahveh
Dwelleth in safety by him:
Jahveh shieldeth him all the day long
And dwelleth between his shoulders."

This is the poet's opinion of the temple at Jerusalem. He knows nothing of its being the only place where sacrifices may be offered. On the contrary, to the blessing:

"Rejoice, Zebulun, in thy going out
And, Issachar, in thy tents!"

he adds:

"They call nations unto the mountain;
There they offer righteous sacrifices,"‡—

which we must undoubtedly regard as referring to a holy place of sacrifice situated in the territory of one of these two tribes. If the poet's predilection for public worship be already apparent from these two benedictions, his eulogy upon the priestly tribe of Levi shows it still more plainly.—He says to Jahveh:§

"Thy thummim and urim are with thy faithful one,
Whom thou didst prove at Massah,
And with whom thou didst strive at the waters of Meribah;
Who saith of his father and his mother, 'I have not seen them,'
And regardeth not his brethren

* Verses 26—29. † Verse 12. ‡ Verses 18, 19. § Verses 8—11.

And knoweth not his children.
For they observe thy word
And keep thy covenant;
They teach the ordinances to Jacob
And thy thorah* to Israel;
They bring incense to thy nostrils
And burnt-offerings upon thine altar.
Bless, O Jahveh, his substance
And take pleasure in the work of his hands!
Smite through the loins of his adversaries,
And let them that hate him rise not up."†

The harmony of this description is not marred by a single complaint of Israel's infidelity to Jahveh. What a difference there is between this poet and the prophets who are his contemporaries! Nothing can be more apparent than that he does not apply the same standard as that which they are accustomed to use. His conception of the *service* of Jahveh is not so pure, not so deeply moral as theirs. When we are acquainted with their judgment, we must call his superficial. But this detracts nothing from the value which the latter has for us from a historical point of view. Our conception of Israel's religious condition would be one-sided, if we imagined that this condition drew forth nothing but complaints from the well-meaning servants of Jahveh. For so far as they either attached great value to externals or readily supposed that others shared their feelings, they also had cause to praise and rejoice.

Does the difference between the poet and the prophet, then, concern only the service of Jahveh, and not Jahveh's nature also? We believe it affects the latter too. When we hear him declare, "There is none like unto the god of Jeshûrun"‡—we

* See above, pp. 340 seq.

† It is an attractive conjecture of Kohler's (*der Segen Jacob's*, p. 5), that verse 11 belongs to the blessing of Judah, which is now dealt out very scantily in verse 7. For the use which we make here of the blessing of Levi, it is indifferent whether this conjecture be adopted or not.

‡ Verse 26.

understand that he does not deny the reality of the other gods. It is remarkable that other contemporaneous productions of historical and poetical literature also directly or indirectly acknowledge their existence. If the prophets have already passed the boundary-line which separates belief in the national god from monotheism, some of Israel's historians and poets are still decidedly on this side of it. The reader will remember the words of Jephthah to the king of the Ammonites* and of David to Saul,† which we quoted above. No one will accuse us of arbitrariness when we assert, that the historians would not have recorded these remarks in this manner, if they had been scandalized by them, that is, if they themselves had stood upon a higher grade of religious development. The belief, therefore, that Jahveh was—not the only god, but—Israel's national god and could not be worshipped out of Canaan, must still have found among the Israelites in the eighth century B.C., if not at a later period, such supporters as the authors of these narratives. The account of the cure of Naaman by Elisha furnishes another remarkable proof of this.‡ After the Syrian captain has attained the object of his visit to the prophet, he declares that he believes in Jahveh, nay, that he acknowledges him as the only god: "Behold, now I know that there is no god in all the earth but in Israel."§ But a singular contrast to this is formed—in our opinion, that is to say—by the request which he makes to Elisha immediately afterwards: "Shall there not then be given to thy servant two mules' burden of earth? for thy servant will no longer offer burnt-offerings and sacrifices to other gods than Jahveh."‖ This prayer admits of no reasonable interpretation, unless we assume that Naaman wishes to build an altar of this earth, and considers the possession of such an altar indispensable to his worship of Jahveh. On the one hand, therefore, we have: no other god than the god of Israel; and on the other hand: this

* Judges xi. 24; comp. above, p. 298.

† 1 Sam. xxvi. 19; comp. above, p. 326.

‡ 2 Kings v. 1—19.

§ Verse 15.

‖ Verse 17.

god so confined to Israel and its land that he can hardly be worshipped out of it. Do not notions such as these contain incontestable proof that, in fact, the one Jahveh was originally Israel's national god, and that we are not upon the wrong track when we hold the belief which we have expressed as to the formation of the monotheism of the prophets?

We shall now leave undiscussed other passages which could give occasion for similar observations.* "The blessing of Moses," from which we started, reminds us of another duty which devolves upon us. In the verses which we have taken from it, every one will discover at a glance allusions to Israel's earlier fortunes. We find these in other places also, *e.g.* in verse 16, where Jahveh is called "he who dwelleth in the bush"—with evident reference to the narrative of his appearing to Moses;† and in the beginning, verses 2—5, where mention is made in succession of the wandering of the tribes through the desert under Jahveh's protection, the delivery of the Law by Moses, the settlement in Canaan and the election of a king. These allusions, and many others in the writings of the prophets, remind us that the supporters of the ennobled and purified Jahvism, in the eighth century B.C., not only criticised their own times, and prophesied of a better future, but also treated of the history of the past and brought it into accordance with their own religious conceptions. We have already spoken more than once of this work of theirs—but it is in every way worthy of being expressly described.

It will surely not be objected, that there is no inward connection between the rise of purer religious ideas and the conception which the Israelite formed of history? It cannot well be imagined that the past, because it is past, and because no power, human or divine, can alter it, must always be regarded in the

* *E.g.* Exod. xv. 11, xviii. 11, ix. 14, &c. See also 2 Kings iii. 27 [where read, "and there came great anger—a great token of displeasure—on Israel"], where the failure of the Israelites in their siege of the capital of Moab is ascribed to the sacrifice offered by the king of that country.

† Exod. iii. 1 seq.

same light by posterity? Such doubts have nothing but appearance in their favour. In Israel, at all events, various causes combined to produce, simultaneously with the purified Jahvism, a new conception of the people's religious condition in earlier times.* But further let it not be forgotten, that the writers on the past had yet another aim than that of making their readers acquainted with the truth as they themselves had found it. Most ancient historians, and among them the Israelitish, had what we should now call a secondary purpose, but what for them was really their principal object. They wished to instruct their readers as to what they ought to do, to exhort, warn, arouse or console them. The spirit and manner in which they did this, naturally depended upon their own religious views. This, then, was one reason why the narratives of the past became pervaded with the notions of the present: if on this account they were less true to historical reality, it was by this means alone that they became exactly adapted for recommending the new ideas.

It is not necessary here to describe in detail the conception of Israel's past, which, as a consequence of the circumstances we have referred to, was formed and expressed in works of the ninth and eighth centuries B.C. We already know its main features. In our inquiry into the real history of the Israelitish people, in Chapter II., we have always started from the idea which was current on that subject among the Israelites in the eighth century B.C. Only two points need be noticed now. One is, the ideal description of the pious of former ages. A great part of it is the product of imagination. Frequently but little historical truth remains in these sketches from the lives of the patriarchs, or of Moses, Joshua and David. But so much the more important are they to us, as revealing the spirit which animated their authors. It is true, most of them teach us little that is new; the ideas which they embody and make visible, we find again, more or less developed, in the writings of the con-

* See above, pp. 370 seq.

temporaneous prophets. But in addition to the fact that they are represented here in most attractive forms, they derive additional sanctity from their connection with the venerable figures which continued to live in the memory or the imagination of the people. Isaiah insists with all emphasis upon trust in Jahveh,* but side by side with his admonitions the picture of Abraham as the example of faith† retains its full significance. While acknowledging the truth which lies hidden in the sacrifice of children, Micah declares that it is not this that Jahveh values, but humility and the practice of righteousness and love:‡ would the Israelites on this account have been willing to dispense with the narrative of Abraham's offering?§ Are the descriptions of the calling of Moses and Gideon‖ superfluous alongside of the prophets' exhortations to lowliness and their promises of Jahveh's help even to the "humble"? Is Jahveh's nature and relation to Israel painted by any one of the prophets so strikingly as in the narratives of his intercourse with Moses, after the promulgation of the "ten words" and the apostasy of the people?¶

A second point which must not be passed over here, is the Jahvistic conception and transformation of the popular belief. The more zealously Jahvism struggled to become the sole power in Israel, the more definite an attitude was it forced to assume in opposition to the popular ideas, part of which involved the worship of the other gods. Some of them it rejected. But others of these conceptions it appropriated, upon condition that it might interpret them differently and give them a new shape. As Christianity, after it had become established among the Germans, adopted some of the heathen gods, but turned them into Christian saints, so the Jahvism of the prophets gradually enriched itself with elements which originally belonged to the worship of nature. Let the reader recollect the view which we took of the legend of Samson.** In the same way that, in this

* Above, pp. 37—39. † Gen. xv. 6, &c. ‡ Mic. vi. 6—8.
§ Gen. xxii. 1—19. ‖ Exod. iii. iv.; Judges vi. 11 seq.
¶ Exod. xxxii.—xxxiv. ** Above, pp. 307 seq.

instance, a sun-god or hero is transformed into a servant of Jahveh, so the narratives concerning the patriarchs and Moses undoubtedly include some features which are borrowed from popular belief and not from historical tradition. How easy it was for such fragments of that belief to pass into the narratives which people repeated to each other! How natural it was that those who recorded tradition should embellish it with such mythological traits, as one means of refuting superstition, or, at the least, of rendering it harmless!

I think I may be content for the present with these few hints upon a subject which, indeed, will never be quite satisfactorily and exhaustively handled. I have said enough to enable the reader to appreciate the great significance of the intellectual labour expended by the pious among the Israelites upon their history. In the sequel of our investigations we shall find opportunities of developing more fully the thoughts brought forward here, and of illustrating them with examples.

We cannot yet take leave, however, of the eighth century B.C. The "blessing of Moses" gives us occasion for one more remark. The beautiful eulogy on *the priestly tribe of Levi* which we quoted from it, will not have been forgotten.* We did not meet with anything like this in the prophets. They evidently had no eye for that side of the labours of the leaders of public worship, which is described to us here with so much admiration. Following in the footsteps of the prophets, we too have been almost silent with regard to the priests and their influence upon the development of the religious life of the nation during the tenth, ninth and eighth centuries B.C. Our sketch is not on that account to be considered incomplete; yet we ought to include in this sketch a reference to the fact that the task of the Levites, as early as in the eighth century B.C., could be apprehended and described in the way in which this is done by the poet of Deut. xxxiii. Was he himself a Levite? We think this not improbable. But the historical significance of his ideal description

* Pp. 380 seq.

does not depend upon his descent. We prefer to look upon it as a prophecy of the important part reserved for the tribe of Levi in the further development of Jahvism. The poet is already on the way towards regarding the Levites as exclusively competent to discharge priestly functions. Opinion continually advanced in that direction. Thus the influence of the Levites must have continually increased. The liberty to offer sacrifices to Jahveh anywhere in the land of Canaan had not yet been curtailed in the time of the poet.* Yet the eighth century B.C. was not to pass away, before an attempt, at least, was made to alter this state of things. Hezekiah's reformation† may have been directed in the first place against the use of images of Jahveh, of "pillars" and asheras, yet, as a means of procuring their discontinuance, the king employed the abolition of the *bamoth* and the prohibition to sacrifice anywhere but at Jerusalem. The result of these measures we shall see further on. Their tendency to enlarge the power of the Levitical priests at Jerusalem is obvious. Side by side with prophecy, therefore, Israel saw in the eighth century B.C. the rise of another power, which as yet was the lesser, but already asserted itself strongly enough and received sufficient support from prince and people, to lead us to entertain great expectations of its future achievements. In the following chapters of this history these expectations will be satisfied, if not exceeded.

Prophets and priests: to these two an Israelitish proverb‡ added, as a third class, *the wise*. They have even more right to be named in this chapter than the priests. The period at which the *chokmah* was to cast off its indifference to religion and assume a Jahvistic character,§ had already dawned in the eighth century B.C. Some of the "wise" may, after the example and in the spirit of Solomon, have continued independent of the prophetical class, but others attached themselves to the prophets and co-

* Above, p. 380, comp. pp. 337 seq.
† Comp. pp. 80—82, 377 seq.
‡ Jer. xviii. 18; Ezek. vii. 26.
§ Comp. pp. 333 seq.

operated with them, without on that account surrendering their individuality. It is not difficult to discover in the writings of the prophets, and especially in Isaiah, traces of these two classes of cultivators of the chokmah.* But we need not depend upon these hints. Remains of the Israelitish "wisdom," which must be referred to the eighth century B.C., have been preserved to us in the Old Testament itself. We find them in the book of the Proverbs, and especially in the 2nd and the 5th divisions of this book.† Most of the remarks and lessons which we read there do not deny their peculiar origin. That is to say, they are the product of simple, sober observation of the reality. They breathe a spirit of practical prudence and worldly wisdom. They preach a morality which, although it is in general pure, yet is not wont to rise to any elevation, and always runs the risk of degenerating into triteness, or of subserving the ends of a nicely calculating egotism. The religious ideas which they utter are evidently borrowed property, and have not force enough to become principles out of which a complete theory of life could be developed. On the other hand, however, the "wise" whom we have to thank for these lessons, succeed in keeping themselves free from the national exclusiveness which characterizes the prophets. The distinction between the people of Jahveh and the nations, which the latter maintain very strictly, is of considerably less weight in the eyes of the wise. Their moral system is consequently juster to universal humanity, and is, in so far, higher than that of the prophets.

We could not omit to enter upon a more minute treatment of those ideas, if we had to regard the poets of the Proverbs as representatives of their time and of the predominant feeling in Israel. But this is very far from being the case. If we had

* Comp. my *Hk. O.* III. 91, n. 13.

† Prov. x. 1—xxii. 16, xxv. xxix. The title of the 5th division, chap. xxv. 1, which speaks of the Proverbs of Solomon, collected by "the men of Hezekiah," is one of the chief proofs that these divisions originated in the eighth century B.C.

to consider them from this point of view, we should not be able to find any place for them in the eighth century B.C. They can only be introduced into that period if they may be regarded as forming a separate and very isolated class in the social system of Israel. Their appearance is not the less interesting on this account; but if this was their relation to their contemporaries, they occupy a less important position in the history of Israel's religion. There is only one more point worth noticing. How strongly does such a phenomenon as the *chokmah* confirm the truth of Renan's remark: "la verité est dans les nuances"! It is implied in our conception of the origin and development of Jahvism, that Israel's religious ideas were formed in opposition to, much more than under the influence of, those of foreign countries. It would therefore lead us to reject as very improbable the derivation of this or that Jahvistic idea from the stranger. There can be no doubt of the general accuracy of this view. But our study of the "wise" and the tendency which they displayed, teaches us how cautious we must be in drawing conclusions from this view. Even though the prophets made it their aim to avoid all that was not national and Israelitish, many ideas borrowed from abroad may have gradually become naturalized in Israel, through the direct and still more through the indirect, influence of the "wise." Like Solomon, their predecessor,* they extended Israel's horizon, and now and then removed the barriers between other nations and their own. Perhaps it has been properly denied† that the paradise-myth was committed to writing by one of the wise. But, having regard to their labours among their countrymen, we consider the hypothesis which we advanced above as to the origin of this myth to be very well worthy of adoption. Among a people which could produce the *chokmah*, there can have been no want

* Comp. above, pp. 341 seq.

† Dr. I. Hooykaas, *Gesch. van de beoefening der wijsheid onder de Hebreën*, pp. 39 seq.

of interest in the traditions preserved in other countries and in the question regarding the origin of sin, nor of capacity to appropriate and assimilate the ideas of other nations. Thus, while the Israelites developed themselves in conformity with their own natural character, and maintained their own individuality, their connection with the other members of the great family of nations was preserved. Thus, in spite of its isolation, this people was able to bequeath to us foreign treasures, which bear the impress of its individuality, it is true, but yet cannot for a moment disown their origin.

NOTES.

I.—*See p.* 271, *n.* *, *and p.* 306, *n.* †.

Dozy treats of the stone and tree worship of the Israelites in *de Israëlieten te Mekka*, pp. 21—36. After him, the same subject was handled by H. Pierson in his works, *De heilige steenen in Israël* (1864), and *Baetyliëndienst* (1866). In the *Godg. Bijdragen* of 1866, pp. 843 sqq., I have attempted to refute the proposition that Abraham was originally a stone-deity, the rock from which Israel sprang. A few remarks are also made there upon the stone-worship in general, which, however, must be developed more fully here.

Let us begin by reviewing the passages in the Old Testament which come under consideration in this inquiry. In doing so I shall follow the order of the arrangement of the Old Testament writings themselves, with the understanding that those passages which refer to one and the same sacred stone or tree shall be combined. Such passages as can only be placed with more or less probability among the evidences of stone-worship, are also included.

1. In the neighbourhood of Sichem there was an oak tree,

called "*élôn moréh*," *i.e.* "the oak of the prophet" (Gen. xii. 6), elsewhere "the oak of the soothsayers" (Judges ix. 37). By this tree there lay a stone, according to one an altar of Abram (Gen. xii. 7), according to another an altar of Jacob (Gen. xxxiii. 18—20), and according to a third a memorial of Joshua (Josh. xxiv. 26). Dozy (pp. 33, 34) conjectures that Judges ix. 6 alludes to the same oak, and that in this passage we must read, *by the oak of the maççeba*, *i.e.* of the stone placed erect.

2. Abram builds an altar between Beth-el and Hai (Gen. xii. 8). It must remain undecided whether we have to regard as distinct from this the *maççeba* set up and anointed by Jacob in his flight to Haran, upon the site of which he proposed, after his return, to build a "house of God" (Gen. xxviii. 18—22). Comp. also Gen. xxxv. 1—4, 7, and verses 14, 15 (a different view as to the origin of that *maççeba*).

3. Near Hebron stood "the oak of Mamre," and under it a stone, an altar of Abram, according to Gen. xiii. 18. In David's time sacrificial feasts were held at Hebron (2 Sam. xv. 7—9). Comp. Dozy, pp. 32, 33.

4. Near Beer-sheba there was a tamarisk planted by Abraham (Gen. xxi. 33), and an altar of Isaac (Gen. xxvi. 23—25). Comp. Dozy, pp. 34, 35.

5. In the trans-Jordanic country, upon Mount Gilead, there lay a heap of stones, the boundary between Laban and Jacob (Gen. xxxi. 45—54).

6. In the camp at Gilgal there were twelve stones, memorials of Jahveh's help at the passage of the Jordan, according to Josh. iv. v. Near Gilgal there was a place which Judges iii. 19, 26, calls "the graven images." See above, p. 306.

7. In the statement of the boundaries and cities of the tribes on this side of the river there occurs the stone of Bohan the son of Reuben (Josh. xv. 6, xviii. 17).

8. After the conquest of Canaan, the trans-Jordanic tribes, before re-crossing the river, piled up a high heap of stones, as a

memorial of their participation in the task of their brothers (Josh. xxii.).

9. At Beth-shemesh, upon Joshua's property, lay "a great stone," upon which the ark of Jahveh, at its return from Philistia, was placed, and close by which a sacrificial feast was held (1 Sam. vi. 14, 15).

10. Near Mizpah Samuel erects a stone, a memorial of one of the victories gained over the Philistines, which he called Ebenhaëzer, *i.e.* stone of the help (according to Dozy, p. 31, stone of the helper [?]), saying, "Hitherto hath Jahveh helped us" (1 Sam. vii. 12).

11. Near Gibeon lay "the great stone" (2 Sam. xx. 8).

12. Near Jerusalem, not far from the well of Rogel, lay "the stone Zoheleth" (*i.e.* the stone of the creeping [serpent]), by which Adonijah prepared the sacrificial feast for his adherents (1 Kings i. 9).

Some of these passages confine themselves to simply mentioning the stones and trees (7, 9, 11, 12). With regard to all the rest, without any exception, it is obvious at once that at most they reveal the existence in earlier times of the stone and tree worship. None of the authors who speak here are themselves addicted to this form of worship. On the contrary, their statements tend to connect the stones and trees with Jahvism, and to account for their sacredness by attaching them to famous persons or deeds of olden times. This also applies to Gen. xxviii. 18—22, where H. Pierson (*Baetyliëndienst*, pp. 56 sqq.) believes real stone-worship is taught; but see H. Oort, *Theol. Tijdschrift*, I. 295 sqq.—Now the Jahvistic and historical explanation of the sacredness of these stones and trees which these authors give us, cannot by any means all be accepted as true. In particular, there are conclusive objections to those mentioned under 1—6 and 8. Sometimes their unhistorical character is evident from their mutual discrepance (see 1, 2, 4); they are all connected with a conception of the past which must be entirely rejected.

This justifies the supposition that at all events some of those stones and trees were regarded as actual deities, or as abodes of gods; that the Jahvistic writers would or could not rob their contemporaries of these objects of worship; that they consequently attempted to render them harmless by giving them a Jahvistic colour. This hypothesis accounts both for the recognition of the sacredness of such objects by the writers of the Old Testament, and for the unsatisfactoriness of the explanations which they propose. With respect to Gen. xxviii. 18—22, xxxv. 14, 15, this hypothesis is also recommended (1) by the statement that Jacob anointed the stone which he set up—which also occurs elsewhere in stone-worship; (2) by the name of Beth-el ("house of God") used there, which, in the form of *baitylos*, is employed by the ancients to denote the sacred stones. It is certain, moreover, that stones and trees were also worshipped among the rest of the Semites. Comp. Dozy, l.c.

The preceding remarks show that the Jahveh-worshippers deemed it unnecessary to assume a hostile attitude towards the stone and tree worship. In other words, this form of religion admitted an interpretation or "Umdeutung" (transformation of sense) which rendered it quite compatible with the recognition of Jahveh as the sole god of Israel, nay, even with the strictest monotheism. All that was needed was to turn the stones and trees into memorial pillars or tokens, or again altars; the spot where they stood was regarded as the scene of a theophany, &c. Thus the stone-worship was not abolished or supplanted by the higher form of religion, but was exalted by absorption into it ("aufgehoben").

From this it follows again, that in an inquiry into the duration and extent of the stone and tree worship of the Israelites, it is very necessary to define precisely what is understood by these terms. The result of such an inquiry entirely depends upon this definition. In my opinion, stone and tree *worship* must be ascribed only to those who either looked upon the

stones (or trees) themselves as deities, or held them to be abodes of particular deities, to be animated by higher beings, which temporarily or usually dwelt in them. Now though *many* Israelites may have occupied this standpoint for a long time, at the entrance into Canaan at least as many were already above it. A popular belief such as this must gradually have retired more and more within the circle of the least developed. For the more civilized, the stones (or trees) did not, indeed, lose their significance and value, but such persons interpreted them differently, and from that moment could no longer be considered to *worship* the stones (or trees). That Samuel's Eben-haëzer, for instance, is—as Dozy asserts—a proof that stone-worship still prevailed at that time, is not only unproved, but also very improbable: on what grounds can it be maintained that a man such as Samuel ascribed his victory—not, as Deborah, for example, ascribed hers, to Jahveh, but—to some stone deity or other? Comp. H. Oort, ibid. pp. 300 seq. The new interpretation ("Umdeutung") of the sacred stones and trees in a Jahvistic sense, of which we have the final result before us in the historical books of the Old Testament, may thus have begun very early.

Another phenomenon confirms us in this conviction. Jahveh is called in the Old Testament *rock* (çoer), *rockstone* (sela'), *stone* (ében). How these names are used will appear best from the following series of passages: (1) Isa. xxx. 29 (here Jahveh is called "the rock of Israel"); Deut. xxxii. 4, 15, 18, 30, 31, 37; Ps. xviii. 3, xxvii. 5, xxviii. 1, xxxi. 3, &c.; 2 Sam. xxiii. 3.—(2) Ps. xviii. 3, xxxi. 4, xlii. 10, lxxi. 3.—(3) Gen. xlix. 24 (where, according to Kohler's amendment, pp. 78 sqq., we must read: ..... "by the hands of the strong one of Jacob, by the arms of the stone of Israel"). We notice at once that all these writers speak figuratively: on account of its firmness and durability, rock seems to them a fitting image for Jahveh, in whom Israel can safely and unreservedly confide. Stone-worship, in the sense explained above, is out of the question here. But it is not

unreasonable to assume that the stone-worship gave rise to the use, or at least to the frequent use, of this image: if this or that "rock" was worshipped by some as a god, the Jahvists were very likely to call Jahveh emphatically "their rock" or "the rock of Israel." This idiom was even employed in forming proper names. Thus we find in Num. i. 6, Çoerishaddai ("Shaddai is my rock"); iii. 35, Çoeriël ("El is my rock"); i. 10, Phedaçoer ("the rock delivers")—all of which names occur in unhistorical narratives, it is true, but seem to me nevertheless to be real proper names. (Dozy thinks differently, p. 30, and also gives another explanation of the first two names.) Let it, at the same time, be kept in view, that the poet of Gen. xlix.—who lived in the period of the Judges or in David's reign—and *a fortiori* the later writers, were fully conscious of speaking metaphorically in calling Jahveh a "rock," &c. Therefore the period of the stone-worship lies further back than their times. It can be said of them also, that their figurative language reveals the earlier existence of this form of religion. This entirely agrees with the result deduced from the historical books.

II.—*See p.* 277, *n.* *; *p.* 285, *n.*

The Egyptian origin of Moses' monotheism, which is disputed here, is supported by H. Brugsch, *Aus dem Orient*, II. 46 sqq., comp. 68 sq.

The favourable judgment passed on the Egyptian system of morals must be briefly justified here. For this purpose I appeal

(1) To the Prisse papyrus, explained by F. Chabas, *Le plus ancien livre du monde. Etude sur le papyrus Prisse* (Rev. Archéol., T. xv. pp. 1—25). Chabas does not venture to fix the exact age, either of the papyrus or of the original work of which it contains a copy. One might question whether it is so entirely

certain that Ptah-Hotep, who appears as the author and styles himself "le noble chef, l'aimé de Dieu, le fils du roi, l'aîné de sa race, l'intendant civil"—that this Ptah-Hotep is a historical and not a mythical being, or, in other words, whether the work must not be regarded as a *pseudepigraphum*. But even if this be so, a very high antiquity must still be ascribed to it, on the single ground, among others, of the writing. Now this papyrus contains a number of admonitions which bear testimony to deep reflection and to moral development. The author does not wish them to be regarded as his own invention, but as "la parole du passé," as traditional wisdom therefore: for our purpose this only renders them so much the more important. Among the paragraphs deciphered by Chabas, many deal with the duties of children towards their parents. Let the following serve as a proof (ibid. p. 19): "C'est un bienfait que l'obéissance d'un fils docile; l'obéissant marche dans son obéissance et celui qui l'écoute devient obéissant; il est bon d'écouter tout ce qui peut produire l'affection: c'est le plus grand des biens. *Le fils qui reçoit la parole de son pere deviendra vieux à cause de cela* [comp. Exod. xx. 12; Deut. v. 16]. Aimée de Dieu est l'obéissance; la désobéissance est haïe de Dieu. *C'est le cœur qui est le maître de* l'homme dans l'obéissance et dans la désobéissance [comp. Exod. xx. 17; Deut. v. 21; and above, p. 285] ...." It is in truth very much to be hoped that before long the whole of this remarkable document will be deciphered. I appeal

(2) To the 125th chapter of the Egyptian "rituel funéraire," of which the first portion has been explained lately by W. Pleyte in the 2nd, 4th and 6th parts of his "Etudes égyptologiques" (Leide, 1866—1868). With regard to the history of the text, let the reader compare pp. 9 sqq. of the work referred to. The older redaction ("le canon ancien") is referred by Pleyte to the 20th dynasty, *i.e.* to about the period of the exodus of the Israelites (above, pp. 166 sqq.), although he does not deny that the foundations were laid much earlier. Now this chapter introduces a dead man as speaking after his appearance before

Osiris, the judge in the lower world. In the first subdivision ("la première confession négative")—the only one which our countryman has yet explained—the deceased enumerates various sins against which he has guarded. "Cette confession"—writes Pleyte, p. 10—"nous porte à croire à l'existence d'un code moral, qui contenait les prescriptions ou les lois fondamentales de l'état ancien; on y rencontre les devoirs envers les dieux, les hommes, sa propre personnalité, les animaux et l'état." The following examples (taken from Pleyte's translation of "le canon ancien," pp. 168 sqq.) will show better than a long description the spirit of this confession—and consequently of the "code moral" there presupposed: (1) "Je n'ai pas commis des péchés envers les hommes. (2) Je n'ai pas opprimé les misérables. (3) Je n'ai pas proféré des mensonges dans le lieu de la justice..... (6) Je n'ai pas fait faire à un chef chaque jour des travaux au dessus de ce qu'il dut faire pour moi..... (9) Je ne suis pas libertin.... (11) Je n'ai pas fait des actes qui sont abominables aux dieux. (12) Je n'ai pas fait molester un esclave par son chef. (13) Je n'ai pas laissé mourir de faim. (14) Je n'ai pas fait pleurer. (15) Je n'ai pas tué. (16) Je n'ai pas ordonné de massacrer traîtreusement. (17) Je n'ai pas causé les souffrances des hommes..... (21) Je n'ai pas commis d'adultères..... (23) Je n'ai pas volé en secret..... (24) Je n'ai pas falsifié les mesures des grains: je n'ai pas fraudé par un doigt sur un paume; je n'ai pas transgressé dans ce qui est des champs. (25) Je n'ai pas profité des poids du bassin de la balance. (26) Je n'ai pas rendu vacillant l'indicateur de la balance. (27) Je n'ai pas enlevé le lait de la bouche des nourissons. (28) Je n'ai pas chassé le bétail sur leurs paturages..... (30) Je n'ai pas pêché les poissons dans leurs étangs..... (35) Je n'ai pas détourné les boeufs des offrandes divines. (36) Je n'ai pas repoussé un dieu dans ses manifestations."

Explanation seems altogether superfluous. The purity of the Egyptian system of morals can no more be doubted than its early development.

III.—*See p.* 278, *n.* §; *p.* 297, *n.* §.

Volumes have been written upon the true pronunciation, the origin and the meaning of the four letters *JHVH*, which denote the god of Israel in the Old Testament. It would be difficult for me to make a selection for this note, out of the rich abundance of more or less debatable points, were it not that the whole of this subject has recently been handled in our own country by Prof. Land (*Theol. Tijdschrift*, II. 156—170). The best course seems to be, to refer my readers to this treatise as regards the points upon which I agree with Prof. Land, and only to vindicate expressly my divergences from his opinions.

With Land, I see in *Jhvh* a derivative of the verb *havah-hajah*, and give the preference to the pronunciation *Jahveh*. What he says of the use of the name in compound words, I hold to be perfectly true.

Land's belief—which had already been defended by Gesenius, *Thes.* p. 577, n.—that *Jahveh* is a hiph'il form, I consider as not strictly proved, it is true, but yet probable. My reasons for this have been indicated above, p. 279.

On the other hand, I believe that I must differ from him as to *the origin* of the name: according to Land, it is Canaanitish, but in my opinion it is Israelitish. He goes on to develop his interpretation in this manner: at their entrance into Canaan the Israelites worshipped El-Shaddai; in their new fatherland the tribes found the worship of Jahveh, a sun-god, especially of the autumn sun, whose feast was accordingly kept in the seventh month; the Israelites took part in the adoration of this god, without on that account forgetting their national deity; in David's time, the name, with a few attributes, of Jahveh was transferred for good to the national god; in northern Palestine this had already been begun before that time. See further, ibid. pp. 160 sqq.

Land's opinion is not new. Before him, Hartmann, Von Bohlen, Von der Alm, Colenso, had already come forward to

maintain the Canaanitish (Phœnician) origin of the name. See *The Pent. and Joshua crit. exam.* of the last-mentioned author, Part V. 269—284, coll. App. III. pp. 305—320. Movers, too, had drawn attention to the Phœnician sun-god *Jao* (*die Rel. der Phöniziër*, pp. 539—548), whom he distinguishes from Jahveh, however, and whose name he derives, not from *havah* (to be), but from *chavah* (to live).—Upon comparing the authors here mentioned with Land, it is obvious at once that his opinion both rests on better grounds and is more admissible in itself than theirs.—Nevertheless, the objections to it seem to me to preponderate.

(1) There is a difference, and to a certain degree even a contrast, between the national god of Israel and the Canaanitish sun-god, as Land also holds. He too speaks—quite in accordance with the interpretation which I defend—of "a conflict between the national and the territorial god" (p. 166 and elsewhere). This struggle resulted—as Land also considers—in the victory of the national god. And yet, according to him, the deity that Israel serves after the end of the period of conflict bears a Canaanitish name: *Jahveh* is Israel's god. Considered entirely by itself, this conclusion is highly improbable.

(2) The opinion contested here seems to me to be irreconcilable with the use of the name Jahveh in the Old Testament. To prove that the Israelites brought the name Jahveh with them into Canaan, I will *not* appeal to the names of the pre-Mosaic times, which, rightly or wrongly, are regarded as compounded with Jahveh; these names are not guaranteed historically; *nor* to the mother of Moses, *Jochebed* ("Jahveh is honour," or "glory"), for I admit that Exod. vi. 20, Num. xxvi. 59, inspire me with little confidence, chiefly because in Exod. ii. 1 sqq. the mother's name does not occur; *nor*, again, to Moses' successor, *Joshua* ("Jahveh is safety"), for it is evident from Num. xiii. 8, 16, Deut. xxxii. 44, that at an earlier period he was called Hosea: this alteration of name might be placed in a later period, in opposition to Num. xiii. 16. But besides these,

there are other names, which originated in the period of the Judges, and are compounded with Jahveh (above, p. 296, n.*): is it credible that these persons—among others the grandson of Moses, Jonathan ben Gersom—named themselves after the Canaanitish god? Still more weight must be allowed to the song of Deborah, Judges v. (above, pp. 296, 313 sq.). The god of Israel is here called Jahveh throughout; he does battle for his people against the kings of Canaan; he comes out from Seir and the field of Edom (verses 4, 5). In my opinion, this last particular is *conclusive*. Could Deborah declare more plainly that the god whom she invokes as the god of Israel was not indigenous in Canaan?

(3) Land will readily admit that his opinion constitutes a departure from the whole of Israelitish tradition: nowhere in all the Old Testament do we find a trace or an "Ahnung" of a Canaanitish origin. I will not assert that the latter must be rejected on this account alone, but I do assert that it is only on strong grounds that it can be accepted. In other words, it must be clearly and irrefragably proved that Jahveh was really a god of the Canaanites; the evidence with which this is attested must be of such a nature as to leave no room for reasonable suspicion of Israelitish or Old Testament influence. But such proof as this is not furnished. The champions of the Canaanitish Jahveh are very unanimous in appealing to a passage of Macrobius, *Saturn.* I. 18, and this is the only one which can be noticed. Land is right in passing over the testimonies of Lydus and Cedrenus (see Movers and Colenso, *in locis*). Macrobius, in the chapter alluded to, demonstrates that the Sun and Bacchus (Liber) are one and the same. He refers for this purpose first to two verses of Orpheus, and then proceeds as follows: "The authority of this verse rests upon an oracle of Apollo Clarius, in which yet another name is given to the Sun, which in the holy verses alluded to is called, among other appellations, Ἰαώ (Iao). For Apollo Clarius, being asked what deity it was who was called Iao, says:

"Those who understand the mysteries ought to have concealed the unutterable things;*
But in deceit lurks little sense and a weak understanding.†
Consider that Iao is the chief of all gods;
In the winter Hades, in the beginning of the spring Zeus,
In the summer Helios, and in the autumn the tender Iao."

"The meaning of this oracle, and the explanation of the name and of the divine being, whereby Iao is identified with Bacchus and the Sun, are elucidated by Cornelius Labeo, in his treatise concerning the oracle of the Clarian Apollo." Colenso and Land agree with Lobeck (*Aglaophamus*, I. 461) and Movers (l. c.) in holding this oracle to be genuine, both on account of the purity of the language and the versification, and on account of what Macrobius says of the commentary of Cornelius Labeo, who, according to Land, was presumably a Roman official at Colophon in the last days of the republic, or the days of the first emperors. They assume, therefore, that in the Dionysian mysteries, Dionysus (Bacchus) was also called Iao, and do not hesitate to ascribe a Semitic origin to this name, and to attribute its introduction to the Phœnicians. In my opinion, their view is quite inadmissible, for more than one reason. Let the reader reflect (*a*) that Macrobius was a contemporary of the emperor Theodosius, so that there is abundant room for at least the possibility that we have to do here with a forged document; (*b*) that Cornelius Labeo furnishes us with no guarantee what-

* Land's translation (p. 161), "salutary secrets," is founded upon a faulty reading (*νηπένθεα* for *νηπεύθεα*).

† In the older editions the Greek text runs:

ἐν δ' ἀπάτῃ παύρη σύνεσις καὶ νοῦς ἀλαπαδνός.

In the critical edition of L. Janus (2 vols. 1848—1852), Vol. II. 176, this is amended, according to MSS., in this way: *εἰ δ' ἄρα τοι παύρη κτέ, i. e.* "but if thou (the questioner) hast little capacity and a weak understanding," &c. The difficulty which I am about to point out is removed by this reading. But it gives rise to another: what connection is there, according to this text, between verses 1 and 2? "The knowers of the mysteries ought not to have spoken of them, but if thou—wilt yet speak of them now? no—hast little capacity," &c.: this surely is little better than nonsense.

ever: there is no evidence to show that he was one of the two jurists of that name; it is much more likely that he was the *Labeo* whom Augustine mentions in *de Civ. Dei*, II. 11, and elsewhere. But when did the latter live? and was he not only a theologian, but also a critic? Is it inconceivable that he should have allowed himself to be taken in by an *oraculum suppositicium*? (*c*) That the language of the oracle, although not impure, still by no means supports its high antiquity: a competent critic referred me to the use of σύνεσις in the sense required here by the context (v. 2), and to φράζεο (v. 3). (*d*) That the attitude assumed here by Apollo is most unnatural. The god begins with a reprimand for the indiscretion of the question which has been put, and then argues—N.B. in the hearing of the believer who consults him—that it would not be wise to give him a deceitful answer. Is not this a fiction? Can the real deity—or the priest—have spoken thus? (*e*) That Iao occurs twice (vs. 3, 5), once as the chief god, and once as "the tender Iao," the autumn-god. Is this clear, or even intelligible? Lobeck (l. c.) cuts the knot, and reads in v. 5, "the tender Adonis." The correctness of this conjecture cannot be vouched for. But that in v. 5 some other word than Iao is required, is very probable.* All that is *certain* therefore is, that Iao is called here "the chief of all gods." Now let the state of the case be well considered. It appears from Diodorus Siculus (I. 94), that the name of the Israelitish Jahveh was already known to the Greeks in the form of Iao in the time of this author. It had undoubtedly reached their ears at the same time, that he was worshipped by his people as the highest, nay, as the only god. Now what can be more natural than that a pagan, like-minded with the Orphics, should call this Israelitish Iao "the chief of the gods," and identify him with Hades, Zeus,

* Janus, l. c., proposes to read Ἴακχος—a conjecture which, from a paleographical point of view, is preferable to that of Lobeck, and moreover agrees with what Macrobius further writes (—"interpretationem qua *Liber pater et sol* Ἰαώ *significatur*"). It is a question, however, whether Bacchus can be called ἀβρός ("tender").

Helios, and .....? Is not this quite in the spirit of the later "Religionsmengerei"? Was it not a very natural device for the fortunate discoverer to commission Apollo—as Orpheus was commissioned elsewhere—with the promulgation of this profound truth?—In short, the supposition that the "oracle" refers to *Israel's* Jahveh, and that it is a forged document, accounts for every phenomenon that we remark in it—while any other interpretation leaves more than one difficulty unsolved: the decision cannot therefore but be unfavourable to its authenticity. Thus we are brought to this conclusion: not a single valid proof is advanced in favour of the Canaanitish Jahveh; the tradition which attributes an Israelitish origin to Jahveh retains its full force.

If the Israelitish derivation of Jahveh has hereby been sustained, it will need no lengthy justification that we make his recognition as god of Israel date *from the Mosaic time and not before*. We have already observed that no traces exist of an earlier use of this name. It is useless to appeal to Moriah (Gen. xxii. 2), which is only apparently compounded with Jahveh, and to other names. The simplest and most natural interpretation of Exod. iii. 1 sqq., vi. 1 sqq., according to which Jahveh first reveals himself as the god of Israel to Moses, is thus at the same time in harmony with the rest of the data of the Old Testament.

IV.—*See p.* 297, *n.* ¶; *p.* 304, *n.* ¶; *p.* 305, *n.* *; *p.* 314, *n.* ¶.

A few observations which have this in common, that they concern the use of the name *Baal*, are brought together in this note.

I. Many writers upon the Israelitish religion assume without hesitation that Jahveh, or more correctly the national god of Israel, was also called by his worshippers Baal, or, with the

article, ha-Baal. This has been done in our own country by Oort, *de dienst der Baalim*, p. 29 and elsewhere; de Goeje, *de Gids*, 1865, I. 541; Land, *Theol. Tijdschrift*, II. 164, 168; and abroad, not long ago, by Dr. Kohler, *der Segen Jacob's*, p. 28 ("Der Name Baäl, 'Herr,' war auch für Jahve ganz gewöhnlich"). General considerations do indeed plead very strongly for such a use of Baal. The word means, as we have already said, *lord*, and is very common as an appellative: one would think that it could, just as well as *e.g. adôn*, be employed to denote the god of Israel (comp. above, p. 42). In addition to this, Baal was in use as the name of a god among the nearest kinsmen of the Israelites, the Edomites, and in the Sinaitic peninsula, where, among others, the name of Serbâl—in the vicinity of mount Sinai, and, according to Lepsius and others, the actual mountain where the law was promulgated—occurs, compounded with Baal. Upon turning to the Old Testament, however, we do not find there what these general considerations would lead us to expect. We must pass over the proper names formed with Baal, for it is just the question, what Baal signifies in these compounds, Jahveh or another deity. Beal-ja (1 Chr. xii. 5) alone may at once be noticed here; its meaning is, "Jahveh is baal," *i.e.* "lord;" thus it is a synonym of Adonia.* Nevertheless, it cannot be inferred from this combination of Jahveh and Baal, that the latter name used also to be assigned to Jahveh *by itself*. But—it is asserted—we have in Hos. ii. 16 express evidence of the earlier existence of that use, while it is also clear from that passage how it fell into disuse: the aversion of the strict Jahveh-worshippers to the heathen Baal-worship extended to the name Baal and induced them to employ it no longer; the alteration of *e.g.* Eshbaal into Ishbóseth (above, p. 304) must be explained by similar motives.

* And entirely identical with Jehobaal, which name is thought, not incorrectly, to occur in Ἰωβήλ, as Gaal's father is called in the Greek translation (Judges ix. 26 sqq.). In the Hebrew he is named Ebed, *i.e.* slave. Has this been purposely substituted for Jehobaal, to remove a ground of offence, in the same way that alterations have been made elsewhere in names compounded with Baal?

Let us hear what the prophet Hosea says in that passage. Jahveh will chastise his people severely and deprive them of all the blessings which they have abused (vs. 9—13); after that they will humble themselves and will be disposed towards Jahveh as in the days of their youth, at the exodus from Egypt (v. 15). "At that day"—Jahveh goes on to say (v. 16)—"at that day thou shalt cry, 'My husband!' and thou shalt no more cry to me, 'My Baal!'" To understand this rightly, we must remember that in Hos. i. ii. Israel is represented as the (unfaithful) wife of Jahveh. Now *baal* in Hebrew is the usual word for indicating the man in relation to his wife (*le mari*); a wedded wife is called in consequence *beûla* (Gen. xx. 3). By the renewal of the former relation, Jahveh thus became the baal (*le mari*) of Israel. Yet—says the prophet—Israel shall not call him "my baal!" (*mon mari*), but "my husband!" (*mon époux*). This latter name is more tender, more affectionate, less submissive: this is the first and principal reason for which Hosea considers it better suited to the future. But besides this—and this is the second reason why he writes thus—"my baal!" recalls to recollection the Baalîm, "whose names Jahveh will take away out of Israel's mouth" (v. 17). Now let the reader judge for himself, whether the former use of Baal as a name for Jahveh can be deduced from these words of Hosea? In my opinion, the prophet may have expressed himself precisely in this manner, although that use never existed. The antithesis between "husband" and "baal" alone would thoroughly justify what he writes. And besides this, let it be borne in mind that it is "my baal" which stands here—so that in any case nothing results from the prophet's words in favour of Baal or ha-Baal.

We do not wish, however, to overlook the fact that the thing itself is not negatived by the want of historical evidence. In spite of the silence of the Old Testament, Israel *may* have called its tribe-god Baal. But if—as we have shown above—the name Baal was very common in Canaan, and Israel's god was distinct

from the gods of the Canaanites, then this formed a motive for avoiding that name—at least to those who valued Israel's national individuality and religion. We are thus inclined *a priori* to regard the use of Baal as a proof of a leaning towards the religious rites of the Canaanites, or at all events of a less strict Jahvism. See further in this note, under III.

II. The reasons for which I put precisely the reverse interpretation upon the mutual relation of the names Gideon and Jerubbabel to that assigned in Judges vi., are as follows. It was remarked long ago that the history of Abimelech in Judges ix. is from another hand than the account of Gideon, Judges vi.—viii. Comp. my *Hk. O.* I. 208 sqq. It is also generally admitted that Judges ix. is older than Judges vi.—viii., and—stripped of the few additions made by the editor—forms a very trustworthy account. Now throughout chap. ix. the well-known judge is called Jerubbaal, and never Gideon. This is strange if Jerubbaal be a surname, but on the other hand it is very natural if the judge was really so called. On the strength, therefore, of Judges ix., I assume the latter supposition provisionally. It is confirmed by 2 Sam. xi. 21, where in the same way Jerubbeseth (*i.e.* Jerubbaal; see p. 304, n. ‖) is read; and by 1 Sam. xii. 11 (again Jerubbaal). In addition to this, there is the fact, that the other name, Gideon, in every way admits of being interpreted as a surname; the verb from which it is derived signifies to *hew down*, to *fell*, and is used, *e.g.*, in Isaiah x. 33, in a metaphorical sense. No other Israelite bears this name, which proves nothing, it is true, but yet is rather in favour of, than opposed to, my hypothesis. Now it is most natural that the historian from whom we derive Judges vi.—viii., being acquainted with both names, Gideon and Jerubbaal, should have connected them with each other in the way he has done. From his point of view he was unable to interpret Jerubbaal ("Baal strives") as an ordinary proper name; he was obliged to give it such a turn as would remove the offence; consequently he explains the name (Judges

vi. 32) as, "let Baal strive *against him*"—an etymology which is decidedly incorrect, for the idea "against him," upon which everything depends, is not expressed in the name Jerubbaal. Now with this idea, "let Baal strive against him," all the rest of Judges vi. 25 sqq. is connected, while in addition to this, the name Gideon, either in popular tradition or in the mind of the writer, may have contributed its share towards causing the person who bore this name to appear as a down-hewer.

If the narrative in Judges vi.—viii. is so far removed from the historical truth as would result from the hypothesis here maintained—and the whole character of the narrative is also in favour of the same conclusion—then it will surprise no one that I have hardly formed any opinion with regard to Gideon's relation to Jahvism. Oort, *Godg. Bijdr.* 1866, pp. 989. sq., has correctly observed that Abimelech's question in Judges ix. 2 is without meaning, unless Jerubbaal himself had ruled over Shechem. Thus it is beyond all doubt that Judges viii. 23—where he says to the Israelites, "I shall not rule over you; neither shall my son rule over you; *Jahveh* shall rule over you"—is unhistorical. This disposes of one of the chief proofs in favour of his strict and pure Jahvism. Nevertheless it remains possible that he called the family of Abiezer and the surrounding tribes to battle in the name of the national god, and that therefore the war-cries mentioned above (p. 297) are historical. At all events no evidence to the contrary is afforded by the worship of Baal-Berith at Shechem, which must be regarded as Canaanitish (above, pp. 302 sq.), and therefore cannot be placed to Jerubbaal's account. But—as results from all that precedes—Jerubbaal may have worshipped Jahveh, without, on that account, being a zealot for the worship of Jahveh alone.

III. To the proper names composed with Baal (p. 305) perhaps a few must be added. Geiger (*Zeits. der D. M. G.* xvi. 730 sq.) renders it very probable that one of David's heroes, who occurs in 2 Sam. xxiii. 8, 1 Chr. xi. 11, xxvii. 2, was really called *Jeshbaal*, and perhaps *Jeshbaal the son of the Canaanite*.—*Ashbel*,

whose name may be regarded as an abbreviation of Eshbaal, belonged to the sons of Benjamin (*i.e.* Benjaminitish families), who are enumerated in Gen. xlvi. 21; 1 Chr. viii. 1.—Kohler (l.c. pp. 27 sq.) believes that Reuben's real name was Reûbél ("face of Baal"). Traces of this form Reûbél have actually survived (Josephus, *Arch. Jud.* i. 19, § 7), but it does not appear either that this form is original or that Kohler explains it correctly.

There can hardly be any doubt as to the meaning of all these proper names formed with Baal: they are not directed against Baal, but involve the recognition of this deity. Jerubbaal means, as we have seen, "Baal strives," and thus corresponds to Jojarib, Seraja, Israel. Merib-baal—as the name should properly be read, and not Meri-baal—will have to be interpreted "striver of Baal" or "a striver is Baal." Eshbaal is explained as "man of Baal," of which the names just mentioned, Jeshbaal and Ashbel, are secondary forms. And lastly, Bealjada signifies "Baal knows," and corresponds to Jojada, Jedaja, &c. Not the faintest trace of a disposition hostile to Baal can be discovered in any of these names.

The reasons for which I am inclined to see in these Baal-names so many proofs in favour of the worship of the Canaanitish Baal, are set forth on pp. 304 sq. Comp. also *Godg. Bijdragen*, 1864, p. 489. I willingly admit—with de Goeje, *de Gids*, 1865, I. 542—that the point cannot be made out positively. Let the reader judge for himself whether probability is in favour of my view.

V.—*See p.* 312, *n.* †.

Use is made here of a valuable essay by Dr. H. Oort upon *de Sage van Dina* (*Godg. Bijdr.* of 1866, pp. 983—998), to which I have already referred before (*Theol. Tijdschrift*, I. 703 seq.). For the very reason that I fully assent to Oort's main idea, I

consider myself bound to vindicate briefly the points on which I differ from his view.

If we would form an historically just idea of the two tribes of Simeon and Levi in the period of the Judges, we must start from Gen. xlix. 5—7. It is generally admitted that "the blessing of Jacob" is a very old document, written during the period of the Judges, or shortly afterwards, in David's reign. Now these two intimately related tribes ("Simeon and Levi are brethren") are reproached here with their *violence*. Their savage conduct does not arise from cupidity, for, instead of stealing the bull, they hamstring it (v. 6). Thus, as the poet also expressly states, it is anger that impels them (l.c.). Their deeds seem to the progenitor of the tribe—or to the poet, when he regards their conduct in its bearings on the people's interests—so wicked and pernicious, that he curses them (v. 5), declares emphatically that he will have nothing to do with them (v. 6), and announces to them, as a well-deserved punishment, that they shall be *scattered throughout Israel* (v. 7). When the poet wrote, that punishment had no doubt been already executed: in the exceptional lot that had befallen the two tribes he saw a sign of Jahveh's displeasure at the violence which he condemned.—If this curse upon Simeon and Levi stood alone in the Old Testament, we should perhaps come to suspect that they had got into trouble through their rashness in fighting the Canaanites. But, upon the whole, Gen. xlix. 5—7 would remain an enigma to us. Nothing can be more natural than to seek light elsewhere, and especially in Gen. xxxiv.

This is done by Dr. Oort, and by all other commentators. But to him this chapter is of exceptional importance, on account of the antiquity which he ascribes to it. He lays down, namely, with regard to Gen. xxxiv., these three positions: (1) the chapter has been preserved to us in an altered form; vs. 27 and 28, and in v. 13 the single expression "deceitfully," originate with a subsequent interpolator; (2) the original narrative dates from the period of the Judges, and (3) was written for the definite pur-

pose of counteracting the fusion of the Canaanites and Israelites, which threatened to begin after the conclusion of the covenant at Shechem (comp. Judges ix.), and to make the Israelites perceive, by the example of Simeon and Levi, how they ought to deal with the Canaanites. See *Godg. Bijdr.* of 1866, pp. 984 sq., 992 sq.

These three propositions seem to me to be so closely connected, that, in controverting them, I cannot take them separately. I particularly object to the second and the third. Even at the first glance, it seems to me really too fortunate an accident, that we should possess in Judges ix. an account of the historical situation that led to the composition of Gen. xxxiv. Oort considers that this narrative was "probably" written "in the days of Gideon or Abimelech, because we know of no other inducement for the invention of this story than the covenant made between the cities at Shechem." But is it certain, then, that we must know what that inducement was? Would it not rather be very singular if we did know it? Independently of this, I would point out that the period of the Judges, so far as we are acquainted with it, was very ill-fitted for historiography, and least of all for the production of narratives written to serve a certain purpose, as Gen. xxxiv. was, according to Oort's interpretation. The use of such means for the attainment of this or that practical end presupposes a well-organized, developed and civilized society—just the reverse of what this period presents to our view. Moreover, we are not acquainted with any other such narratives from the same period. Besides this, we seek in vain in Gen. xxxiv. for any trace of so high an antiquity: the language is most decidedly not old. And again, the chapter referred to—stripped of the interpolations supposed by Oort—has not at all the appearance of a narrative written with so definite and practical an aim: the conduct of Simeon and Levi does not by any means meet with unqualified approbation, and is actually condemned by the progenitor of the tribe (v. 30).

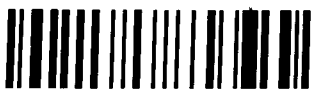
And finally, if, as Oort assumes, the whole incident be fictitious, was it not to be feared that the numerous Israelites who were in favour of union with the Hivites, would on that ground have turned to their own advantage the means employed against them? Would it not, in other words, have been a very clumsy fiction?—It seems to me that Gen. xxxiv. is much more recent than Gideon and Abimelech, much more recent too than Gen. xlix. In the form of a narrative about the patriarchal age, it gives us historical reminiscences from the period of the Judges, but—as a consequence of the distance in time—somewhat confused reminiscences, in which therefore we cannot expect to find that unity and strict consistency and congruity which Oort demands. The one fact that relations belonging to the period of the Judges are transferred to the patriarchal times, is of itself enough to lead to some confusion and obscurity. But let us judge the supposed interpolations on their own merits. If we adopt Oort's suggestion, Jacob's sons take no part in the design of Simeon and Levi, and enter into the treaty with Shechem and Hemor in good faith. But how does this harmonize with v. 7? If the sons of Jacob, on hearing of what had occurred, were grieved and were very wroth, can they the next moment have agreed to Shechem's proposal? Why is this grief and anger mentioned, if nothing whatever resulted from it? It appears to me, that the participation of the brothers in the revenge upon Shechem, of whatever nature it may have been, is absolutely required by the entire aim of the story (see also v. 5). Now, for the rest, I willingly admit, that the position of the word "deceitfully," and also vs. 27—29, give rise to suspicions. I consider it by no means improbable that the narrative has undergone modifications. But I do not believe that Oort has succeeded in separating the original from the later additions, nor that he or any other will easily succeed in doing so: in my opinion, the junctures of the various component parts do not lie so much on the surface as he supposes. Let me only point out further, that the author of the narrative himself tries to explain

why just Simeon and Levi play the principal part, by calling them "Dinah's brethren" (v. 25). But Dinah had other brothers besides; why do not they help? We get no answer to this question, but the addition in v. 25 proves, at all events, that the author felt the difficulty, although he could not solve it. It is also quite in conformity with this addition, "Dinah's brethren," that Simeon and Levi, after accomplishing their vengeance, go away and take no part in the plundering. Once more I come back to what has been said above: absolute consistency and congruity are not to be expected in a narrative such as this. It was a historical fact, regarded as such by this author also, that Simeonites and Levites had characterized themselves by their headlong zeal against the Canaanites: even if the writer of Gen. xxxiv. was not exactly indebted to Gen. xlix. 5—7 for his knowledge of this fact, we may still assume, on the strength of "Jacob's blessing," that the two brothers were known to him in this character. Now if the whole incident was transferred to the patriarchal times, then Simeon and Levi had to be represented as themselves doing what had really been done by their descendants. But then at the same time there arose the questions, why did they do it and not the rest? why, at the least, did not all Dinah's own brothers do it together? Naturally the author could not give satisfactory answers to these questions.

In the foregoing statement I have explained the reasons why, in treating of the period of the Judges, I have not borrowed from Gen. xxxiv. anything more than a further illustration of both Gen. xlix. 5—7 and Judges ix., and have not connected these three documents so closely together as had been done by my predecessor.

For the sake of completeness, I will add that Kohler (*der Segen Jacob's*, pp. 34 sqq.) also uses Judges ix. in explanation of Gen. xlix. 5—7, but, in my opinion, with much less success than Oort.

PRINTED BY C. GREEN & SON, 178, STRAND.


00111135

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018